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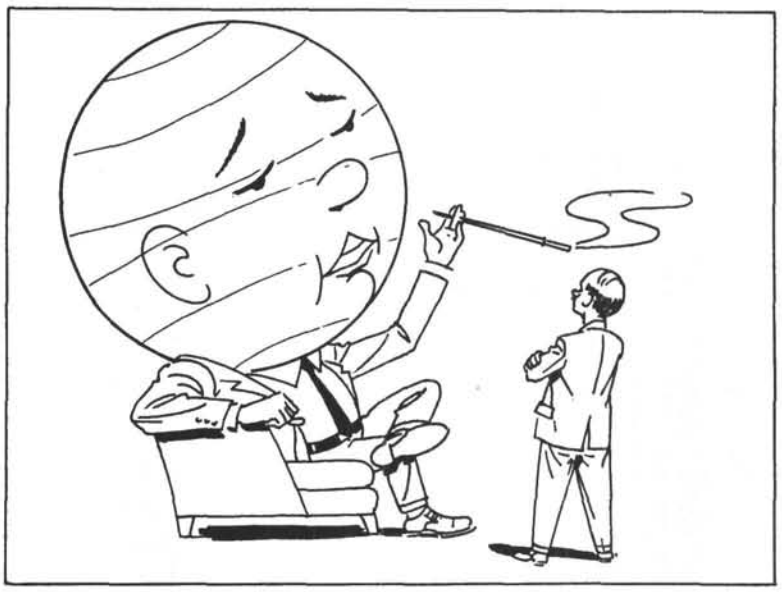

Man Interviews World About Art

WORLD: Don't you see, Man, if you want to understand Art, *study ME* — not the art works themselves. It's what happens right here on my surface that determines whether art works are "good" or "bad" — not the qualities of the art works themselves.

MAN: You mean it's mainly a gamble.

WORLD: Of course. Don't be so shocked. It's natural. When, as a result of a new invention, something becomes easy to do which was formerly hard to do — when sensations which had been rare become commonplace — thousands of previously "great" art works sink into oblivion. They become superfluous. What else could you expect? And accidents as to who does or does not get born and who does or does not survive can have even more far-reaching effects. For instance, let me tell you something about Mozart, whom you earthlings are so enthusiastic about just now. Eighteen men, practically duplicates of him were living on me at the same time he was. If they had all attained full achievement — instead of succumbing to various misfortunes — you would probably be referring to *Jupiter Symphony* as merely another mediocre musical composition among hundreds. An unusual case, you think? No more than countless others I have seen. Continents rise and fall; ice ages come and go; highly exceptional men make their appearance for no discernible reason. But don't draw the wrong conclusion. That doesn't mean I am completely unpredictable. I have certain trends and likelihoods. As I said, *Study me*, and you can learn to make fairly dependable short-term guesses about art, more or less as a meteorologist can in forecasting the weather. And with experience you can gradually do better and better.

MAN: You mean there are no immortal art works which will be eternally beautiful, no matter what happens? But everybody says . . .

WORLD: Please don't make me laugh too hard — I might explode through one of my extinct volcanoes. Well . . . it's been an interesting talk. You look cute in clothes. I remember you when you wore a tail and nothing else. Goodbye, and don't let the "wise guys" bluff you any more.

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"Language greatly used has all the sanction of a sacrament: the race is as incapable of forgetting a great poem as it is of losing its last wish under the stars."

"No words that man can any more set side by side can ever affect the mind again like some of the great passages of Homer."

"Art Is Too Important To Kid Yourself About"

No branch of knowledge ever accomplished anything useful so long as it was dominated by mystic-minded men. Astronomy had to get rid of the astrologer; Medicine of the witch-doctor; Meteorology of the fellow who claimed he could forecast the weather for May 10th, five years ahead. Art is the same way. Until it eliminates the "clairvoyant" men who put on exhibitionistic rantings such as those *quoted below (all by famous critics) it will remain in its* present state of quackery — and you will remain the slick-talker's easy mark. This does not mean that you deny that experts may know more about art than you do. It means that you deny them the right to use that knowledge to brainwash you instead of to instruct you.

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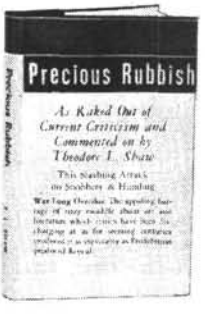
"I loved it — gave three critics one copy each — they loved it. Lost is he who hath no humor." — Dr. Wm. K. Keller, *Prof. of Psychiatry, Univ. of Louisville.*



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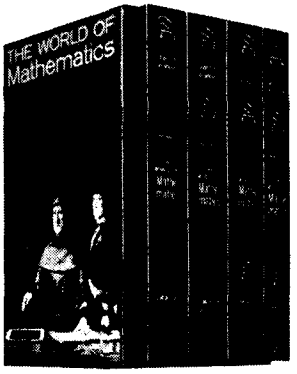

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The Second War

★ Gilbert Stuart's George Washington extended a benevolent arm on one side; Martha looked down graciously on the other. President Washington exhibited a bad case of five-o'clock shadow, and the need of a new upper plate, but he smiled gamely at what was going on. Below him President Johnson was holding a full-scale press conference in the simple elegance of the White House East Room, all white and gold and glitter. There is something regal about LBJ, when you stop to think of it, on top of all his other contradictions. In a lot of ways last week's press conference had the aloof mystique of Charles de Gaulle, laced with Texas colloquialisms. Amuhricans, observed the President firmly at one point, aren't going to "tuck our tails and run home."

He was speaking of Vietnam and has been talking about it a good deal, suddenly, which is a good thing. He has moved from tight-lipped reluctance to explain and a position which implied that we seek unconditional surrender. His Baltimore speech offering "unconditional discussions" was a great step forward. Now he and other top officials are trying to make the public understand our bombing policy.

The policy boils down to this: We are bombing military, largely non-civilian targets, not to enlarge the war but to restrict it, and primarily to force the conflict to the conference table as soon as possible.

Richard Rovere in *The New Yorker* the other day said that Johnson probably wants to negotiate the Vietnam war as badly as does Bertrand Russell. Maybe this goes a bit far but it does indicate our agonizing dilemma. Hans Morgenthau on one side, and the warhawks on the other, seem to have solutions. This department doesn't see any simple solution.

Washington is gobbling up two books, *The Making of a Quagmire*, David Halberstam (Random House, $5.95), and *The Ambassador*, Morris L. West (William Morrow, $4.95). Both are about Vietnam, one non-fiction, the other fact masked as fiction. Both men are civilized liberals, Halberstam a brilliant war correspondent, West a perceptive Australian. Neither wants a pull-out; neither thinks this is a war we can win militarily; neither hopes for much more than a position of strength from which we can negotiate.

The factor that comes out in both books, and out of a speech made here last week by Harvard professor John King Fairbank, director, East Asian Research Center, is this: In East Asia the Chinese Communists have liberated an Idea. You can't smother it. You can't napalm it. You can't ignore it. The Idea is stronger than mortars or howitzers or troops or helicopters. They are military, this is political. The only way you can fight an Idea is with another Idea.

Fairbank calls it the "village-based revolution." Halberstam says, "There is something to the Viet Cong besides terror, something more to winning a revolutionary war than helicopters." Graham Greene, back in 1955, describing Hanoi said, "We talk so glibly of the threat of the individual, but the anonymous peasant has never been treated so like an individual before. Unless a priest, no one before the commissar has approached him, has troubled to ask him questions, or spent time to teach him. There is something in Communism besides the politics." It is a system, says Fairbank, that "expends enormous energy on personal proselytism."

Maybe America is too deep in the military quagmire even to fight this second war. And suppose we do, do we have the willingness, the idealism, and the *patience* for it? Well, Americans are adaptable and Vietnam is jolting us badly. It is a good and astonishing sign that the US Chamber of Commerce here last week suddenly adopted a proposal urging the US government to open up "channels of communication with the people of mainland China."

Government vs Business

★ President Johnson announced that the forthcoming deficit will be a billion dollars less than expected. Whoops! shout the editorials. We don't like it. Here's why. You have to think of the government as a huge business. People are the stockholders. The "business" is going to grow – vastly. A big chunk of government debt is investment. It goes into roads, post offices, dams, slum clearance.

Every year the huge AT&T, another business, increases its debt. Its plant was $727 million in 1950; around $2.5 billion last year. Was this reckless, was this profligate? No; stockholders would have sued if AT&T hadn't expanded and gone into debt.

Indications are the big USA Co. isn't expanding fast enough. The most acute sign is unemployment. It has ranged around five percent for years (nearer eight to ten percent if part-time unemployment is included). A fifth of the nation is poor. We aren't faced with inflation; actually, most economists expect an economic slowdown in six months or so.

The growth rate isn't high enough. Oh, all right, the stock market is soaring and things look pretty good right now (if you have a job). But the labor force is growing 1.7 percent a year; productivity 3.5 percent, while the over-all economy (GNP), is not keeping up. If a recession did come unemployment would jump fast.

These aren't fly-by-night statistics. The authoritative Council of Economic Advisers probably understates it when it says we are producing $30 billion or so below our potential. What it means is that if the private sector doesn't do the job the government should.

★ *Note:* Finally, a word about Edward R. Murrow. He was the gentle, perfect knight of nicotine-stained fingers. He was what all reporters wanted to be. He told us what London in flames looked like and, in March, 1954, what McCarthy looked like. Some think McCarthy never recovered.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 152 Number 19 Issue 2633 May 8, 1965*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8; Foreign, $9; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43301.* *Copyright© 1965 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

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Edging Toward Talks

In spite of continued American bombing, and military build-up by both sides, the tentative blurred shape of a Vietnam cease-fire is becoming discernible, like the lines on a foggy half-developed negative. The eventual outcome of the fighting and bluffing now in progress looks like being a protracted conference, attended by the United States and Communist China among others, which will discuss a Vietnam settlement while strenuously pretending to talk about something else. If this much can be achieved, a long step will have been taken even if, as is probable, the cease-fire affects only the American bombing of North Vietnam and the aid, such as it is, rendered by Hanoi to the Viet Cong guerrillas in South Vietnam. There seems to be very little hope, even in the most deludedly optimistic recesses of the State Department, Pentagon and White House, of a cessation of the actual guerrilla fighting in the South while a conference is dragging its slow length along. But the war would have stopped escalating, and that is now the main thing, even though the fighting in the South remains, as it has always been, the heart of the problem. Indeed the chances are that before a conference can be held the fighting in the South will have intensified. The Viet Cong are suspected of planning an early major assault on some American base or Vietnamese strong point, in the hope of a military success that they could convert into political chips cashable at the conference table, and establishing a seat of government somewhere in the countryside they control, as a rival to Saigon. President Johnson indicated last week that a conference is acceptable to the US, but he still bars the Viet Cong, who are not "a government." They could easily become one by self-proclamation, since they appear to control something like two-thirds of South Vietnam territory. This would be unfortunate, and dangerous, as it might then be very difficult for them to retreat from a posture of being the only genuine South Vietnamese government. Therefore the peace-seekers ought to be striving for a South Vietnamese government which will include but will not be dominated by the Viet Cong, and which is at peace with the North. If a conference is held the Viet Cong are going to be represented at it one way or another, the plain alternative being no conference; it will be better for the US and the present Saigon regime if the Viet Cong are allowed to turn up as guerrilla fighters rather than pretending they are a government.

Even if a conference achieved nothing else, it would give the world

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a chance to take a closer look at the Viet Cong, which is another reason for having them attend. An apparently reliable French account, which gives them their proper political title of the National Liberation Front, says they have a central committee which is headed by a Saigon lawyer – temporarily not in practice there – and which includes physicians, journalists and university professors, Catholics and Protestants as well as Buddhists, mandarins as well as peasants and workers. One central committee member is reported to have been a high-up civil servant in the Diem government and another to have led the forces of the formidable Binh Xuyen sect against Diem. Although the central committee of the National Liberation Front must also include Communists who probably hold the key positions, it does not seem impossible to conceive of the Front entering a political coalition with other parties and religious and military factions in South Vietnam, at some stage of the long road toward pacification of the country.

This is not at the moment the notion of the Viet Cong themselves: they profess to hope for total victory. Peking eggs them on, being anxious to prove that victorious "wars of national liberation" (only to be won by Communists) are the wave of the future. Hanoi's echoing assent is beginning to sound a little dubious to expert ears. Moscow would rather everyone sang of peaceful coexistence between Communists and non-Communists. And Washington? The Administration talks of the Viet Cong becoming "manageable" if only those elusive supplies from the North can be stopped. "Manageable" is an ambiguous word, but in the Pentagon and on the State Department's seventh floor it probably still means crushing the Viet Cong rather than including them in a new coalition government. This is because the Pentagon and the Secretary of State are currently gripped by the simple stern belief that their job is to draw a line in Asia and then defend it against any Communist encroachment or infiltration whatever, using such weapons as are necessary for the purpose, including nuclear ones. South Vietnam is where the US sign says "They shall not pass," because Secretary Rusk has chosen to equate that country with prewar Czechoslovakia, and Southeast Asia with prewar Europe; in this game, Mao Tse-tung is Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado rolled into one, and Hanoi and the Viet Cong are his puppets. Any American (or European or Asian) who fails to admire the doctrine is a guilty Munichеer, smelling vilely of appeasement.

There are several things wrong with it, nevertheless. It professes to be a doctrine for Asia but it appalls most of Asia, including both India and Pakistan despite their own current fight (evidently they dislike each other more than they do China). It strongly suggests that a war with China is probably inevitable and talks boldly about the possible use by the US of nuclear weapons; but when this is challenged, as happened with Secretary McNamara last week, the doctrine wobbles back a bit and disavows any US intention either to send a big American army against the Chinese hordes or to drop nuclear bombs "in the current situation." This has two undesirable effects: off-the-record talk of possibly using nuclear weapons on Asians, again, turns Asia against the US; subsequent wobbling dangerously bolsters the current Peking illusion that America is after all a paper tiger. Not least, the doctrine cuts recklessly across the intelligible US policy of trying for a detente with the world's only other superpower, Soviet Russia. The Chinese have Russia's new, untried leaders in a box, and the Administration is helping Peking to put the lid on them. Sustained US bombing of North Vietnam combined with persistent US refusal to talk with the Viet Cong is a blow to the Soviet thesis of peaceful coexistence, and a bonus to the Chinese in their bitter ideological dispute with the Russians. Secretary Rusk's simplistic doctrine won't fit a conference; nor will Peking's, nor the Viet Cong's. All of them are going to be compelled by facts to compromise, before a conference can take place. Yet it now seems fairly clear that sooner or later there will be one.

Vacant Judgeships

The President has proved to be an exceedingly deliberate man with an appointment. Not to put too fine a point on it, he has been slow, particularly with judicial appointments. Judge Hutcheson of Texas retired from the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit on November 4, 1964. No one has been nominated to replace him on this busiest and most overburdened of US Courts of Appeals. Chief Judge Peter Woodbury of the US Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, in Boston, retired as of December 31, 1964. His seat has not been filled even though his colleague on the same court, Judge Hartigan, retired in March, thus leaving that three-man court without a quorum. Care in the picking of judges is all to the good, but only if they are picked within a reasonable time.

There is one judicial vacancy which the President might be well-advised *not* to fill, provided he keeps the judiciary otherwise well-staffed. This is the vacancy created by the death on April 3, 1964, of Judge Ben F. Cameron of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. Judge Cameron, a Mississippian, was in his day the most outspoken and determined segregationist on the federal bench. The court on which he sat hears more – and more important – civil rights litigation than any other. His influence on it was happily diluted by such courageous, energetic and high-minded judges as

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Tuttle of Georgia, Rives of Alabama, Brown of Texas and Wisdom of Louisiana. Two appointments that President Kennedy made to this court have hardly strengthened it, and a couple of disastrous appointments that he made in district courts within its jurisdiction have weakened it. It would be nothing short of a catastrophe if the Cameron seat were to be filled with another Cameron.

Finding someone who can be reasonably counted upon to support Judges Tuttle, Rives, Brown and Wisdom, and who will at the same time not be obnoxious to the Senators from Mississippi, and particularly to Senator Eastland, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, is a delicate and difficult task. Under these circumstances, a vacancy is infinitely preferable to an appointment, for the deadlock could presumably be broken only with an Eastland-approved candidate. The Kennedy Administration taught us what an Eastland-approved candidate can be like. He may turn out like Judge W. Harold Cox, whom President Kennedy appointed to the US District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi, and who is as unreconstructed as the late Judge Cameron.

The pressure exerted by a vacancy should work on the Senators concerned, not on the Administration. For the Chief Justice has authority to appoint other judges from all over the country to sit temporarily in an understaffed circuit. This has been going on in the Fifth Circuit anyway. But it can go on for any length of time only if there are enough judges to go around. Hence the President's failure to fill the other vacancy on the Fifth Circuit, which was created by the retirement of Judge Hutcheson six months ago, and his failure to make other replacements gravely weaken his hand in resisting a bad appointment to the Cameron vacancy.

There ought to be no difficulty in filling the Hutcheson seat. Senator Yarborough (D, Texas) will not push a segregationist, although his list of candidates may not be altogether pleasing to the President's conservative personal friend, Governor Connally of Texas. But a President who may have to insist on a vacancy rather than replace a Cameron, as he may be forced to do again by the death on April 26 of another stout segregationist, Judge Sidney C. Mize of the US District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi, cannot afford to temporize or let conventional political difficulties delay those judicial appointments over which the courtesy of their colleagues does not give the Southern segregationists a veto. The short of it is that delay in Texas or in Boston not only makes it increasingly difficult to replace a Cameron and a Mize temporarily by assignment but chokes judicial dockets all over the country and may eventually result, willy-nilly, in another Cameron and another Mize on the federal bench in Mississippi.

Airlines' Movie War

The International Air Transport Association (IATA) is the world's largest and most powerful cartel. Over the years, its members – which include most of the international airlines – have fixed fares according to the theory that the most inefficient carrier should make a respectable profit. Accordingly, the super-efficient make super-profits: Northwest Airlines made 28 percent on its trans-Pacific run last year; Trans-World Airlines made 20.4 percent on its trans-Atlantic route. Unlike domestic fares, the international fares (even of US carriers) cannot be controlled by the Civil Aeronautics Board. Two years ago, IATA forced Pan American and TWA to raise their trans-Atlantic fares five percent, although the CAB and the Kennedy Administration strongly disapproved. To refuse the increase might have meant European seizures of American planes, or the closure of Orly, London, Fiumicino and many of the other Western European airports to Pan-Am and TWA. The CAB glumly approved the new fares, and an international crisis was avoided.

IATA's newest ploy is the prohibition of in-flight movies on trans-Atlantic flights. Like the famous Sandwich War of some years back (when IATA fixed the quantity and quality of refreshments in all classes of air travel) the Movie War has its ludicrous aspects. To condemn the IATA ruling is also to support an interminable succession of Doris Day-Rock Hudson films aloft. But movies do suit some, and such matters might be better left for the airlines, their customers, and domestic control agencies to decide. After August 31, 1965, TWA will have to darken its movie screens on trans-Atlantic flights, or face retaliation from European ministers of aviation.

Last week, a House committee began hearings on a bill which would authorize the CAB to fix fares for international routes; at present, the Board merely approves IATA rate schedules. The State Department heartily endorses the bill, but the air carriers are not conspicuously enthusiastic. The companies are of two minds: they would like to make occasional anti-IATA rate reductions in order to increase traffic volume, but they have the feeling that IATA, more than the CAB, has their interests at heart. In any case, CAB-fixed fares and services would meet the same opposition from foreign authorities. Last year, when the same bill (it is a perennial feature) was under consideration, the association of American air carriers got it killed.

A more satisfactory approach would be for the US to have done with IATA, and instead negotiate a multilateral inter-governmental air agreement. Americans take up the majority of seats on long-haul international flights of all carriers. The US government, not a cartel of airlines, should say how the public is served.

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Tenderfoot Scout in Washington

"We Birchers Are Trained To Look for Patterns"

As Washington lobbyists go, Reed Benson of Salt Lake City, Utah, is disarmingly soft-sell, unobtrusive, unmenacing. And that may be why he is the Washington representative of the John Birch Society.

Unlike the man who rams his patriotism down your throat, Benson is a study in benign fervor. Even the demand for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren rolls inoffensively from his lips. "Impeachment is legal in this country," he explains patiently. "Not many people know that." And when he shows a visitor the Society's "impeachment packet" of anti-Warren pamphlets – or similar packets on civil rights and the United Nations – he does so with the openness of a tenderfoot scout selling subscriptions to Boys Life.

So far, the 37-year-old son of former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson has been an itinerant image-builder. Since December, he has been speaking and raising money around the country, particularly in the Deep South and Midwest. But shortly he will hang out his shingle in the LaSalle Building on Connecticut Avenue. From Room 1004, he will start trying to raise the Society's respectability quotient in the enemy camp. A fair-minded Washington landlord named Hy Ritzenberg, who says he is "rabidly anti-Birch," has leased the Society a suite of three small rooms with chartreuse wall-to-wall carpeting. The building also houses three agencies of the United Nations – including a favorite Birch target, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Benson has no intention of picketing his new landlord. He scarcely could afford to. A search of three months, and a series of disappointing incidents with landlords, preceded the signing of a one-year lease with Ritzenberg.

"They were always very pleasant," Benson says. "They would show me the space and the next day call to say another tenant had been looking at the same space and had just decided to take it. Well, we Birchers are trained to look for patterns, and could speculate."

References to "Dad" in his talks, and to reunions of the Taft family to which the Bensons belong, can make for effective name-dropping in Republican circles. Equally effective are his no-drink, no-smoke, no-swear discipline and his religious conviction as a committed member of the Mormon Church. Yet he has a rule against speaking about the Society to any Mormon group or in any Mormon church or hall, or discussing the Society on the Sabbath. He even refuses to tape radio or television interviews during the week for presentation on Sunday. "The only other thing I could do would be to quit the Church and change my name, and I'm not going to do either one.

"It's part of my religious training that the Constitution is an inspired document," he says, "that the time will come when it will hang by a thread and it will be our task to save it. . . . We believe that the Lord helped raise up the Founding Fathers to establish the Constitution so there could be the opportunity for religious freedom. The Book of Mormon is a scriptural account of the inhabitants of America; so we feel America is a land chosen above all others. This is church doctrine."

At 12, Reed did errands at the Wendell Willkie headquarters in Bethesda in 1940. Willkie is not exactly a patron saint of the Birch Society, but in 1940 he was the rallying point against FDR. Reed's first major political chores were in 1950 in behalf of Wallace Bennett of Utah, running for the US Senate on the Republican ticket. Bennett won, but Reed's political activity was interrupted in 1952 by military service. He was a chaplain at Lackland Air Force Base, Texas, when Eisenhower beat Taft for the Republican nomination and subsequently when Reed's father joined the Eisenhower Cabinet. Discharged in 1954, Reed came to Washington, assisted his father in the off-year congressional campaign in the farm states and afterward was given a research job with the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee.

In the 1956 campaign, he filled in for his father in a speech before a Republican women's conference in Washington and wound up speaking on farm problems in 36 states. (He was effective, he says, "because it takes me time to understand things, but when I did understand I could tell people in an hour lecture about the farm program in terms they could understand." His lectures now for the Birch Society sometimes run to two hours.) In 1958 and 1959 he was a confidential assistant to Veterans' Administrator Sumner Whittier, a patronage job. But in 1961, with the Republicans out of power, he finally was drawn into what he now likes to call "this freedom struggle."

Cleon Skousen, a former FBI agent, chief of police in Salt Lake City and a militant anti-Communist, recruited young Benson to handle research for a small right-wing group known as the "All American Society." One of his first assignments was to travel across the country studying, in Reed's words, "other patriotic organizations that had education programs that were effective in this battle." In July, 1961, while he was in Tulsa to attend an anti-Communist school run by Billy James Hargis, Reed met his destiny. Robert Welch was the kickoff speaker.

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"I had heard of him only through *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*," Reed says. "I wasn't getting the right papers. It was just after the Communists had decided to launch their attack on him. I heard him give a one-hour-and-50-minute lecture and after the meeting was over, there was a reception for Billy James Hargis. I think it was his birthday. A lot of people wanted to speak to Mr. Welch and there were festivities going on, so I stood next to him and wrote on my program: 'What do you think is one of the best ways I can help in this freedom struggle?' And he wrote back, and this was prophetic, 'Join us and become a coordinator for the John Birch Society.' Little did I realize then that I would do just that in about a year."

Later they talked and Reed asked whether he and his father could see a copy of Welch's controversial letter linking Eisenhower with Communism. Welch sent it and a few weeks later the first Birch meeting in Utah was held in Reed's home. Reed was interested but he wanted to know more, to make certain his membership would not bring dishonor to his father: "I checked with the best brains I knew of. I had Dad check out the Society with the chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee [Senator Eastland] and the Un-American Activities Committee [then Congressman Walter]."

While this top-level search was going forward, Reed decided to run for Congress in the Republican primary against Sherman P. Lloyd of Salt Lake City. When voters asked him about the Birch Society, he "told them the Society was made up of some of the finest Americans I'd ever met. I told them I was not a member but I was investigating it." Lloyd won by a 3-to-2 margin.

A day or two after the election, Welch invited Reed and his wife to California, all expenses paid, to attend a two-day lecture he was giving. The Bensons went, heard and joined.

In the 31 months since then, Reed has become one of the Society's star speaking attractions. Audiences always want to hear how he came to join the Birchers, Reed says, and especially how his father reacted to the news (Ezra Benson said at the time: "I admire Reed's courage and applaud his decision.")

Reed still hasn't registered officially as a lobbyist, nor has his 27-year-old associate, Bob Lee, a Salt Lake City manufacturer of fire-detection equipment (Reed chuckles at the appropriateness of this background). But Lee says they will in all probability have to register. The fact that right-wing strength in Congress was diminished markedly on election day would suggest that Benson's freshman year as a lobbyist will be a lonely one. But even in Barry Goldwater's smashing defeat Reed is able to see a bright side: public interest in the Society has increased because "a lot of people realize the forces favorable to socialism are increasing and it's going to take more than wishful thinking to stop them."

This realization, Benson says, has produced a sharp rise in Birch memberships since the election. Welch, in the January bulletin of the Society, said membership nearly doubled in 1964 and revenue from book and pamphlet sales and other sources doubled from $1.6 million in 1963 to $3.2 million in '64. In the February bulletin, Welch said the weekly payroll for a staff of about 200 was more than $25,000 a week and printing bills were about $85,000 a month. In addition to the main headquarters in Welch's hometown of Belmont, Mass., regional offices are in San Marino, Calif., Glenview, Ill., White Plains, N. Y., and Houston, and Welch has claimed to have 225 bookstore outlets.

Reed is busy image-building six days a week and is away from his wife and small children 75 percent of the time. (His schedule is hard on his wife, Reed says, "but she's a pretty good little patriot herself.") In spite of the long hours, the ridicule, the timid landlords and all the rest, he seems as happy as anyone can be who sees his beloved country going to Hades in a handbasket. He is sustained no doubt by the confidence that one day the John Birch Society will certainly speak from more impressive Washington offices than Room 1004 of the LaSalle Building. JULES WITCOVER

Bundy-Gruening Debate

New York

Thin, weary and affectingly pleasant, William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, came to the West Side of Manhattan one Thursday night in April to debate our Vietnam policy with Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska.

Bundy had complained to William F. Ryan, the West Side's liberal Congressman, a few weeks before that no one understood the policy, and Ryan had answered that he would do what he could in his small way by arranging a discussion panel before an audience of reform Democrats.

It was an occasion cruelly highlighting the special

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problems which the Vietnam troubles present to the President as a party leader. A spokesman for Mr. Johnson had come to debate a Johnsonian Democrat who wants to withdraw from the Vietnam war, before an audience overwhelmingly of the President's party and yet, by any measure of its response, demonstrably hostile to his policy. Altogether that seemed a poor bargain; but then Bundy has been traveling the colleges – ground hardly more fruitful – whenever he can; one assumes, to the Administration's credit, that it takes what forums it can find.

Bundy entered the Joan of Arc High School through a cluster of the Youth Against War and Fascism, flaunting their "Stop the War" buttons, and came at last to settle beside Senator Gruening for a pre-debate television news spot. The engineer asked them to test their voice levels. "Now is the time," Gruening began. "For all good men to come to the aid of their party," Bundy finished. He looked over at Gruening and smiled: "And that means Democrats."

The old man was not to be placated. "The President's policies," he told the cameras, "are leading to a general war. He says he wants no wider war, but he is widening it all the time."

They passed to the platform. Ryan, as chairman, introduced the Assistant Secretary of State first. The applause was formal, lightly seeded with boos, enough to be distressing but not enough to suggest that the Youth Against War and Fascism was a major element in the proceedings.

Bundy began by saying that it was an honor to share the platform with a man of Senator Gruening's distinction and to meet the reform Democrats. One of his best friends had been a reform Democrat. He mentioned a name and, of course, it was that of a fallen-away brother of those assembled. There are evenings where men come to lose.

Bundy remembered the lesson of the thirties. We had opposed Japan to prevent one nation from dominating all the others in Asia. He thought a glance at the map would give some idea of South Vietnam's importance, controlling as it does the gateway to the Indian Ocean, and, in Communist hands, a serious threat to India and the Philippines.

"We seek no territory," he said. "We seek no bases in Southeast Asia." (Faint laughter from the Youth Against War and Fascism.)

"The Diem government was not a model of democracy. There was a good deal of repression. But not compared with Hanoi."

For four years, he went on, Hanoi has engaged in aggression against South Vietnam "just as clearly as conventional armies could, only more subtle."

Now the United States has been driven to the counterattack, which the President is conducting "in as measured and sober a way as you can possibly carry out a military campaign." At which eight of the Youth Against War and Fascism unfurled a yellow banner painted "Stop the War in Vietnam," and commenced chanting that slogan over and over until five volunteers came and tore their banner, and a policeman arrived to take them out. It seemed by no means an unpopular act of repression.

Bundy returned to say: "It is most emphatically not true that this thing cannot be reversed." The Vietnamese are fundamentally anti-Communist. "The job can be done." He repeated the President's promise that we would never withdraw, and sat down to applause that seemed no more than a courtesy and took off his glasses and bent over the table, seeming now only tired.

Ryan turned to introduce Senator Gruening. He had gotten as far as the title of one of the Senator's speeches ("The United States Should Get Out of Vietnam") and the clapping suddenly began, twice as loud as any that had followed Bundy, and people were standing up.

Gruening is a small man, 78 years old. His head was barely discernible through a forest of microphones. His voice was old, strong and amiable: "We say that we are doing what we are doing because the other people cannot be trusted. But we have violated three different treaties.

"The bombings in the North are a wholly disastrous piece of folly and it makes us absolutely disgraceful before the whole world. After two months of this, we are no better off than we were before. We should stop it and we never should have begun it.

"After you have been bombing villagers with napalm, it's going to be very difficult to persuade people that you are their friend."

The applause for Gruening lasted more than a minute. That audience response was no special surprise; the West Side of Manhattan is a warren of liberal Democrats. What was extraordinary was to remember that, if we are not in a state of war, we are indisputably engaged in what Bundy prefers to describe as a sober and measured military effort, and that here was Senator Gruening setting forth his conception of the national honor in terms this bold and tones that matter-of-fact.

William Bundy worked on another hour before an audience occasionally nasty in patches but in general only politely detached. When it was over, the audience held him on the stage still arguing. Then he left, and a bystander hoped that he had not found it altogether unpleasant, and his press assistant answered that, to the contrary, things were really much rougher in the colleges.

MURRAY KEMPTON

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Richard L. Strout

Space, and All That

Mariner IV heads out toward Mars, and in the new Age of Wonder we are catching up with our children, who believe everything and have seen it all in their comic books.

Every morning I take the bus which goes past Hall Place, in Washington, D.C., not far from the Naval Observatory. Asaph Hall was the astronomer who discovered the two moons of Mars in 1877 – the same planet toward which Mariner IV is now cruising at around 66,500 miles an hour. If things go right it will pass Mars sometime in mid-July. It is moving right along and has traveled 1,100 miles in the time it has taken you to read this.

Last month some Russian astronomers thought they had picked up radio emissions from outer space – way past Mars – coming from what some Moscow public relations man called a "super civilization." The phrase has been eliminated now. But while laymen sneered at the concept, astronomers suspended judgment; they have half-expected to get such signals for some time now and are, in fact, listening for them avidly.

If there is life on Mars it is probably vegetable. The present trip of Mariner IV won't come near enough, it is thought, to do more than help to decide whether conditions on Mars are hospitable to life. Most astronomers seem to agree that somewhere out there, beyond the parochial limit of our solar system, life and intelligence do exist. It is easier to believe this, they say, than to assume that the little spaceship Earth is unique.

In 1960 a team of US radio astronomers listened for outer space signals at the 85-foot dish antenna at the National Radio Astronomy Observatory at Green Bank, W.Va. It sits between lonely Appalachian ridges, and for 150 hours that summer Frank Drake tuned his ear to the stars Tau Ceta in the constellation of Cetus (the Whale), and Epsilon Eridani (the River). They are two of the nearest sun-like stars, a light year away (six trillion miles).

Suddenly the astronomers got a strong, inexplicable pulsation that could only come from intelligent beings. They shook with excitement. Had they caught the most revolutionary "Hello" in human history? Well, no; they hadn't. They had tapped a secret military experiment in aerial radar that nobody had warned them about. The fact is, though, that mankind is listening.

For most of this information I am drawing on the remarkable book, *We Are Not Alone*, by Walter Sullivan, the science editor of *The New York Times*, and published by McGraw Hill. "We" are the human race, and the argument is that outer space is inhabited. The book tells what astronomers think about it, and why, and how they hope to make contact.

Sullivan's book isn't easy reading, although you may think it is as you start one of his friendly paragraphs and begin to move along at a trot. But in no time at all some concept like light years, or anti-matter, or $E = mc^2$, will trip you up and make you go back for another try. It is powerful stuff, just the same; I found myself coming back to it, night after night, bloody but unbowed, and lasting generally for a round of about 20 pages. It startled, bewildered, kindled me.

My guess is that nothing Mariner IV finds on Mars, extraordinary though it may be, will be as important as the journey itself. Man's earthbound outlook is exploding. Mars first; the Universe thereafter. Sullivan's book really deals with the essence of religion, though he doesn't stress it: man's place in nature. How did man get on earth? – he just grew, scientists seem to think, though you are always entitled to add the divine spark if you want to. But Fundamentalists had better brace themselves for shocks to come. "In the beginning God created the heavens and earth"; very good, but how about, "God created man in his own image"? Suppose the image out there looks like a spider and is smarter than we; or suppose he is just a pulsation of anti-matter, with an IBM attachment. Whose image is he?

The metaphysical speculation leads one on; take the doctrine of salvation and redemption. Does it cover that spider individual, or is it just confined to earth? Here is a miracle, indeed, to assume that this grain of dust in a Texas sandstorm was picked for the divine event. One shouldn't run down one's own solar system, I guess, but compared to some out there, our little contraption wouldn't get a second glance from a good pawnbroker. Yet I am confident that when the outer space signal comes – the Dot, Dot, dot, dot, dot – the

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theologians will have their nimble dogmas ready.

To get back to Asaph Hall: he knew Mars came closest to earth in the year 1862, and he examined it closely for moons but didn't sight anything. The next close opposition came in 1877 and he looked again, and found them both, on successive nights. He named one Deimos and the other Phobos, after the two horses that draw the chariot of Mars, god of war. Scientists calculate that they are, respectively, 10 and 5 miles in diameter, judging by their brightness. Phobos is the smallest moon in the solar system.

Now there is an oddity about Phobos. It is some 3,700 miles out from Mars and its orbit is decaying in a puzzling fashion. "Some kind of drag is nibbling at its inertia," Sullivan says. It worries Sullivan, and it worries me, now that I know about it. If Phobos gets more than about 1,000 miles closer to Mars it will probably disintegrate.

The orbital eccentricity of Phobos might be explained mathematically if it were hollow. Then it would weigh less than supposed, and its inertia would be less. A Soviet scientist I. S. Shklovsky, speculates that Phobos is hollow. Suppose there was once plenty of oxygen and water on Mars, and also Martians. As the water vapor gradually diffused, because of the low gravitational pull, the inhabitants did what any sensible Martians would do: they abandoned ship in hollow refugee satellites. It would be easier to get them into orbit where gravity is so low. That explains Deimos and Phobos.

Shklovsky is head of the radio astronomy department of Sternberg Astronomical Institute in Moscow. His book will be published in English shortly.

Deimos and Phobos may be much smaller than they seem. If made of metal, they would shine as brightly as real moons several times bigger, Sullivan says. This of course helps the theory that they are artificial satellites.

Frank Salisbury of Colorado University asked in *Science* magazine in 1962 why Asaph Hall missed the two moons in 1862. Hall took another look in 1877, you remember, and there they were. But Mars was closer to the earth the first time than the second time, so the moons should have been more conspicuous in 1862 . . . if they were there. Was Hall's failure to find them, asks Salisbury, due to imperfections in existing telescopes, "or may we imagine that the satellites were launched into orbits between 1862 and 1877?" Well, that pins the time down rather nicely, I think. The little moons are contemporaries of the Civil War, and the beginning of the Gilded Age.

Mars is smaller than the earth by half, with a third the gravitational pull. Our orbit lies between that of Mars and the sun, so we can never see the midnight surface. And it is hard to photograph its so-called "canals" because our atmosphere and that of Mars act like layers of running water. Virtually nobody believes in canals anymore, anyway, although there do seem to be curious things going on on the surface, like shifting dark areas. Vegetation, lichens, dust over ice? Clyde Tombaugh of the Lowell Observatory (who discovered Pluto) says the dark areas might be vast regions that have subsided, maybe by as much as 10 miles. In holes like that the air pressure might be more like earth's, with greater warmth, possibly favorable for plants. Even at the tropics, however, Martian temperature may drop as low as 95 degrees below zero. Nearly

Mars as a Laboratory for the Study of Life

In a report released April 26 advocating the exploration of Mars, a panel of experts appointed by the National Academy of Sciences said in part: "The biological exploration of Mars is a scientific undertaking of the greatest validity and significance. Its realization will be a milestone in the history of human achievement. Its importance and the consequences for biology justify the highest priority among all objectives in space science. . . .

"We approach the prospect of Martian exploration not only as biologists but as scientists interested in evolutionary processes over the broadest range. Living systems have emerged as a chapter in the natural history of the earth's surface. We wish to test the hypothesis that the origin of life is a probable event in the evolution of all planetary environments whose histories resemble ours. We thus conceive the over-all mission as a systematic study of the evolution of the Martian surface and atmosphere: has that evolution included, in some niches of the planet, chemical systems with the degree of complexity, organization and capacity for evolution we would recognize as 'living'? Our specific aims are:

"(a) Determination of the physical and chemical conditions of the Martian surface as a potential environment for life;

"(b) Determination whether or not life is or has been present on Mars;

"(c) Characterization of that life, if present; and

"(d) Investigation of the pattern of chemical evolution, in the absence of life. . . .

"While we are eager to press Martian exploration as expeditiously as the technology and other factors permit, we insist that our recommendation to proceed is subject to one rigorous qualification; that no viable terrestrial microorganisms reach the Martian surface. . . ."

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everybody seems to think that for part of its history thin-aired Mars had a considerable amount of oxygen. Modern techniques still show traces of water vapor, along with more carbon dioxide than the earth has. It won't be possible to build campfires on Mars – not enough air. A better place for lichen than for man.

Sullivan's book goes a lot further than our next-door neighbor Mars, with things in it about anti-matter, and the Theory of Special Relativity that bunches up time, if your speed approaches that of light. At first the layman thinks the scientists must be kidding, but it is gradually borne in on him that they are deadly serious, and that it is his own ignorance that makes it seem so bizarre. As Harvard's Edward M. Purcell said in a lecture, the Special Relativity Theory of compressed time is "reliable" in predicting its strange effects. If it weren't, Purcell told his audience dryly, "some expensive machines around here would be in very deep trouble."

The point is that the average man has reached a point in history where he can't know what to believe. Once upon a time when the world was young, man looked at the heavens and suspended disbelief. Anything was possible. The golden mists of credulity dissolved in the morning of the world, with Homer. But now we are back in a new Age of Wonder.

Such an interval came once before, in the Copernican revolution, and the Renaissance. When Columbus sailed out beyond Ultima Thule and came to the edge of the earth, and didn't fall off, he temporarily introduced a new zest into humdrum people's dull search for florins and guilders.

Once more the world has cracked open as astronauts somersault in space, assail the moon, and send rockets to Mars. What goes on out there beyond near-neighbor Mars, where signals may come any day, or are coming now if we had the wit to catch them? We are catching up with our children, who believe everything and have seen it all in their comic books.

Mariner IV heads out toward Mars, powered by Awe and freighted with Wonder. At only a few periods in the past has man really asked himself, what is infinity, what is eternity? The riddle numbs us. Man survives at the price of ignoring his own insignificance.

Using the United Nations

The Endless Task of Reconciliation

by Benjamin V. Cohen

Most statesmen pay lip service to the United Nations, tearfully lament its ineffectiveness and profess to wish to see it strengthened, but do precious little to develop and dramatize its potentialities for peacekeeping and pacific settlement under the present Charter. If, as they tell us, there is no alternative to peace in this nuclear age, they should give at least a fraction of the time they give to building up military power to building up an effective administrative corps within the United Nations to assist and promote the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

I have a few suggestions in this connection. There should be set up a reporting or rapporteur system to help the Security Council and the General Assembly handle disputes between states that threaten the peace. Every precaution should be taken to relieve the Security Council and the Assembly from having to act on the uncorroborated statements of the disputants and their partisans. And, as part of or in addition to such a corps of rapporteurs, there should be a small corps of professional diplomats whose experience or training qualifies them to act as mediators or conciliators. Among other things, it should be their duty to investigate, on their own initiative or on the request of a specified number of member states, the use or threat of force by any state or states which has not been brought to the attention of the United Nations, and to report the essential facts to the Secretary General. The Secretary General should be authorized on the basis of such report to offer the services of the mediating and conciliating corps to the disputants to assist them in negotiating a settlement of their differences.

It is gravely disturbing that many devoted friends of the United Nations have failed to grasp that the UN is

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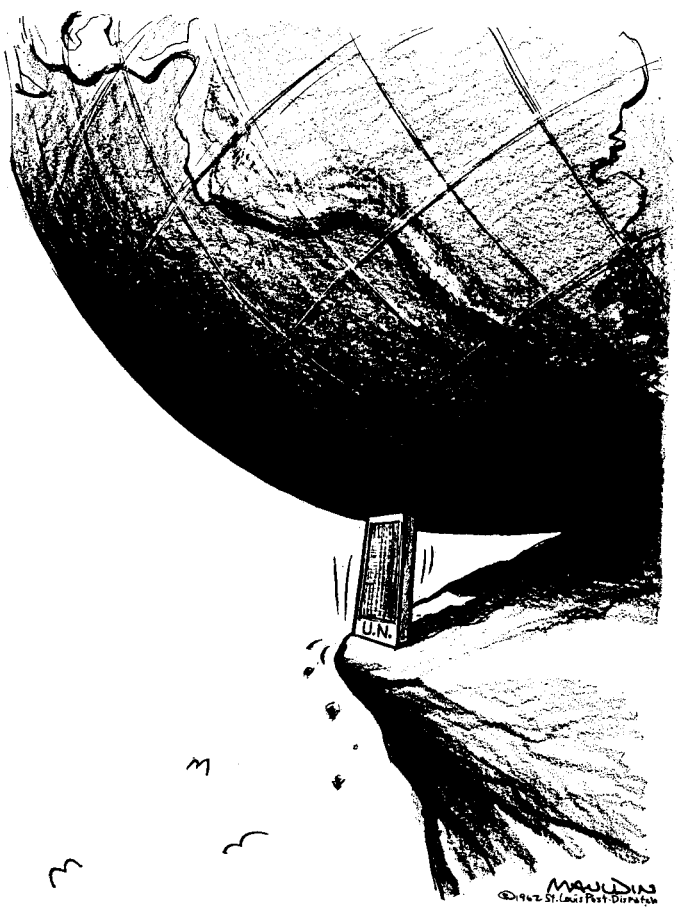
threatened with failure as much or more by the neglect of the great powers as by the irresponsibility of small states. Recurrently and persistently, a school of realists tells us that the United Nations cannot deal with conflicts between the great powers, because of the veto and the lack of countervailing power. One would have thought that the Uniting for Peace resolution in 1950 would have put that argument to rest. Moreover, whatever criticism may be made of the one-sidedness of some of the resolutions in the Suez case, it certainly established the continued vitality of the Uniting for Peace resolution, and rejected the proposition that the great powers have a right to ignore their Charter obligations. Strong arguments may be advanced that the United Nations cannot muster the power, and would be unwise to attempt, to impose its will by force on the great powers or for that matter on some of the lesser powers. The primary purpose of the United Nations after all is to keep the peace and prevent war, not to fight wars; to stop aggression, not to punish the aggressor. But there is nothing in the Charter or outside the Charter that would justify the great powers any more than the small powers in rejecting or ignoring the conciliation, mediation and other processes and procedures that the United Nations might provide for settlement of disputes which threaten the peace. If the United Nations withers away, it will not be because it lacks the power to impose its will by force, but because the forces for peace represented in the United Nations do not unite their strength, as the Charter bids them, to bring great or small powers involved in conflict to the conference table. I have scant sympathy with those who are so devoted to the United Nations that they would not saddle it with that task, for fear the conference will be abortive. To what a pass the United Nations has come when it scarcely takes notice of a war in Vietnam which threatens to escalate into a major world conflict!



If the political organs of the United Nations are to play their part in building peace, there must be a downgrading of voting when there is no clear consensus, and an upgrading of efforts to create and employ processes of mediation and conciliation to obtain accommodations, compromises and provisional arrangements. There are those who say let justice and right prevail though the heavens fall. But who is to determine what is just and what is right? Does justice lie with the strongest battalions or the deadliest missiles? And what justice can there be if the heavens fall? I should think it might better be said: Let justice be done so that the heavens will *not* fall. Antagonistic ideologies not reconcilable by logic have in the past been reconciled by the felt necessities of the times, even when they contended not only for the things of this earth but for man's immortal soul. The test of life, the test of peaceful coexistence – like the test of law as Justice Holmes has reminded us – is not logic but experience. Slowly and surely the most hardheaded statesmen, barring lapses in periods of tension and passion, are coming to realize that war no longer is a practical way of adjusting international disputes.

Let us take a look at the none-too-successful efforts at mediation and conciliation in the recent ill-fated 19th General Assembly centering about the application of Article 19 of the Charter to the Soviet Union. Article 19 provides that a member who is two years in arrears with payments shall have no vote in the General Assembly, although the General Assembly may permit it to vote if it is satisfied that failure to pay is due to conditions beyond its control. It was contended by the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada that the Soviet Union was more than two years in arrears because of its failure to meet the General Assembly's assessments against it for the UNEF (United Nations Emergency Force) peacekeeping in the Middle East, and for ONUC (United Nations' Operations in the Congo) peacekeeping. The International Court of Justice, in an advisory opinion on which its members were sharply divided, nine to five, had found the assessments for UNEF and ONUC valid and binding under the Charter. The General Assembly, after acrimonious debate in its

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18th session, had voted to accept the opinion. The Soviet Union and France have taken the position that only the Security Council under the Charter can impose binding obligations, although France supported the Uniting for Peace resolution in 1950, and met her contributions to UNEF voluntarily. The Soviet Union had initially supported the peacekeeping operation for the Congo in the Security Council, although it withdrew its support after Lumumba's ouster.

A Point of Order

It is the contention of the Soviet Union that it is not in arrears, and that neither the Court's advisory opinion nor the resolution of the General Assembly can impose an obligation to pay for peacekeeping not authorized by the Security Council. France, which during 1965 will similarly become in arrears because of her nonpayment of the Congo assessments, supports the Soviet contention. It should be observed that both UNEF and ONUC were financed partly by a modified scale of assessments and partly by voluntary contributions. All subsequent peacekeeping operations have been financed by voluntary contribution.

The United States, the United Kingdom and Canada have taken the position that the General Assembly has accepted the Court's opinion, and that the President of the Assembly must automatically apply Article 19 and deny the Soviet Union the right to vote. They further contend that on a point of order his ruling should and would be sustained by a simple majority vote. Other members take the position that Article 19 must be read in connection with Article 18, which provides that suspension of rights and privileges should be considered an important question, requiring a two-thirds vote.

The President of the Assembly and the Secretary General tried from November to February to mediate the dispute. They succeeded in quieting considerably the usual Cold War debate, and in avoiding a tabulated vote save on the final motion to adjourn, in order to prevent a direct confrontation not of arms but of wills between the Soviet Union and the United States which might lead to the break up of the United Nations. With a little give and take a practical settlement might have been reached, without resolving the controversial legal issues which may have been unnecessarily exploited.

It is important to recall just what the Court did and did not advise: Not that the General Assembly may not finance peacekeeping by voluntary contributions; not that the General Assembly may not authorize states particularly interested to assume the preponderant burden as was the case in Korea and later in Cyprus and Yemen. The Court merely advised that the General Assembly had the Charter power, and had exercised it in the case of UNEF and ONUC, to impose obligatory assessments to defray the costs of peacekeeping.

But the Court did not decide that at this stage of international organization in the world, where states are still inordinately jealous of their sovereignty, it was wise statesmanship to finance peacekeeping on the basis of obligatory assessments. A political body whose powers are essentially recommendatory should hesitate, particularly in the absence of great power unity and an overwhelming consensus, to require sovereign states to finance actions which they oppose and which they cannot be required to participate in or assist directly. It is frequently asserted that the peacekeeping functions of the United Nations will not be undertaken if there is no power of obligatory assessment. I doubt this. Peacekeeping will not and should not be authorized unless states are willing to support or to find support for it. Much of the social and economic work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies could not be carried out on other than an essentially voluntary basis.

A new Committee of 33 has been established by the Assembly, and is instructed in consultation with the President and Secretary General to review the whole question of peacekeeping operations, including ways of overcoming the present financial difficulties of the organization, and report by June 15. It is to be hoped that during the adjournment the Committee of 33 will find a way out of the morass. It really should not be difficult if the Committee recognizes its job is to break the deadlock, not to vindicate a theory. The legal questions need not stand in the way of an acceptable and workable accommodation. The Committee need not question the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. It need not decide whether the application of Article 19 is or is not automatic. The Committee might well recommend that, in light of the practical difficulties encountered which have paralyzed the work of the 19th session, the Assembly should reconsider the nature of the assessments levied for UNEF and ONUC. It might suggest that without prejudice to its Charter powers and without prejudice to the advisory opinion of the Court, the Assembly should declare the assessments to be recommendatory and nonmandatory, while urging all states to meet their share of such assessments. The states which voted for these

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assessments should naturally feel morally bound to meet their share. Should some states fail to meet their quota, for reasons which to them seem compelling, they should be urged to contribute a substantially equivalent amount to other operations of the United Nations so that the over-all costs of the United Nations may be equitably shared by its members. Should there remain a deficit in meeting the costs of UNEF and ONUC, a special appeal should be made for voluntary contributions to make up the deficit.

If the Assembly is prepared to recognize the unwisdom, at this stage of international organization, of attempting to make its assessments for special peacekeeping operation obligatory, there should be reason to hope that the Soviet Union and France would voluntarily meet their assessments or make substantially equivalent contributions to other essential activities of the United Nations. In the absence of special circumstances, states which do not contribute to special peacekeeping operations should not be entitled to a voice in the administration of such operations. Of course it may be a bit messy to reconsider the mandatory character of a partially executed plan of assessments. But it is better to offend the purists than to let the General Assembly be stalemated.

Emphasis on Voting

With the admission of many new and relatively weak states it becomes theoretically possible for the General Assembly to vote for action for which the voting majority would bear little or no responsibility. It must be remembered, however, that the action of the General Assembly is recommendatory and not mandatory. Member states may be expected to give consideration to the Assembly's recommendation, but they are not bound to act against their own judgment. When the Cold War was at its height there was excessive emphasis on voting and a misguided attempt to exaggerate the significance of a majority. At this stage of international organization a vote will command respect not by the number of states back of it but by the worldwide feelings or sentiments it reflects, by the worldwide response or reaction to events it evokes, and by the influence it brings to bear on the actions of the states to which it is addressed. Many closely divided votes may serve to strengthen divisions rather than develop a consensus.

Amendments to the Charter to enlarge the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council have been proposed by the 18th General Assembly. The Security Council amendment would enlarge the Security Council to 15 members. Of the 10 nonpermanent members, five would come from Africa and Asia, one from Eastern Europe, two from Latin America, and two from Western Europe and elsewhere. The Economic and Social Council amendment would enlarge ECOSOC to 27 members, of whom nine would be elected each year for three-year terms. Seven of nine elected each year would come from Africa and Asia, one from Latin America and one from Western Europe.

A larger Security Council and ECOSOC would appear desirable in order to reflect a broader spectrum of world opinion. But it seems to me that if the Security Council is to be enlarged there should be provision to ensure that not less than one-third of its membership are drawn from a middle group of states which, while not among the original permanent members of the Council, are large financial contributors. This middle group might constitute a class of additional permanent members without power of veto, or at least an additional class of members eligible for successive reelection. This middle group should include states like India, Japan, Brazil, Italy, Germany and possibly Nigeria.

Moreover, if the Security Council is to be enlarged in order to obtain a more balanced representation it would seem desirable at the same time to provide for a better balanced distribution of voting power in the General Assembly. In light of the great disparity of power between a few large states and many small states, some change in the distribution of voting power in the Assembly is important to maintain the influence of the General Assembly and to give meaning and power to its resolutions. If and when the great powers consent to an enlarged and better balanced Security Council, the smaller powers might concurrently consent to a dual voting system in the General Assembly, whereby ordinary resolutions in the General Assembly would require a double majority vote – a majority of all members and a majority of those states in the Assembly which are represented on the enlarged Security Council. Then important resolutions of the Assembly would require a two-thirds majority of the whole membership and a two-thirds majority of those states in the Assembly which are members of the Security Council. This form of weighted voting would create a better relationship between the Security Council and the Assembly and at the same time increase the effective influence of the Assembly on the Security Council.

But desirable as some amendments may be, we must not let the obstacles in the way of attaining them blind us to the potentialities of the present Charter, which is broad in scope and allows a wide measure of choice of means. It is for each generation to have the wisdom and imagination to choose the appropriate procedures for keeping the peace in its time. The important thing is not to impose the will of a majority of states on a minority of states, but to provide an environment and a procedure for composing or containing differences among states before they erupt into war.

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Croly and "The Promise of American Life"

by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

The Promise of American Life was first published in November, 1909. It was reprinted in June, 1910 and April, 1911; and, though it appears not to have sold more than 7,500 copies, it had immediate and extensive influence on what historians have come to call the Progressive era. Over half a century later, it remains a substantial and sensitive essay on the American political experience, worth examination not just for historical reasons but on its continuing merits as a diagnosis of the American condition.

Herbert Croly was 40 years old when the *Promise* was published. He had been an editor of *The Architectural Record,* and his earlier writing had been mostly on architectural and literary topics. But his aesthetic had long had a moral bent, the result no doubt of growing up in a family dominated by two of the more socially-minded journalists of the day. His father, David Goodman Croly (to whose memory the *Promise* is dedicated), had come to New York from Ireland as a small boy; he had worked on a number of New York City newspapers until his death in 1889 and was a leading American disciple of Auguste Comte. His mother, Jane Cunningham, was also an immigrant; she came to New York from England at the age of 12 and in 1855, the year before she married Croly, began a long and prolific career as a journalist under the name of Jennie June. She too was a Comtist as well as a feminist; and young Herbert David Croly was believed to be the first child in America (at least since the days of Horace Binney Wallace before the Civil War) to be received into Comte's Religion of Humanity. When he went on to Harvard in 1886, his father wrote him, "Cultivate all the religious emotions, reverence, awe and inspiration. . . . Train every side of your mental and emotional nature. Read poetry and learn the secret of tears and ecstasy. Go to Catholic and Episcopal churches and surrender yourself to the inspiration of soul-inspiring religious music." Surrounded by new influences in Cambridge, however, the boy began to drift away from the Religion of Humanity. But if his positivism did not long survive Harvard, it left a lasting imprint on his mind and personality.

Croly's Harvard career was long and intermittent. He was in and out for more than a decade, finally receiving his bachelor's degree in 1910. He took most of his courses in philosophy and began to replace Comte by a judicious synthesis of elements from Royce, Santayana, and James. Robert Morss Lovett recalled later that "in the Harvard of the nineties, Herbert Croly was alone as an example of an intellectual making politics his chief preoccupation, and I think he was lonely." If this is so, no major political expression of Croly's from this period seems to have survived; and his own account of the origins of the *Promise* suggests that it was his aesthetic concern which brought about his political awakening. In 1900 Croly read Robert Grant's *Unleavened Bread,* a high-minded novel about an aspiring architect destroyed by the pressures of commercial society. As Croly interpreted Grant's story, the hero was the victim of the crassness and superficiality of American life – a sacrifice on one hand to the imperative of the market, and on the other, to the absence of any "well-domesticated tradition" of artistic excellence. One solution for the frustration of the artist in American society was expatriation – and Croly wrote sympathetically about Henry James and his desire to seek abroad a life "more richly charged, more significantly composed, and more completely informed" than he could find in the United States. The other solution was to try and realize the possibilities of the national culture. This was the course Croly marked out for himself when, working a precise four hours every morning, he began to write *The Promise of American Life.*

He restricted himself to the four morning hours, his friend Philip Littell later said, so that "he could give his afternoons and evenings to his other interests, which were varied and many." These included tennis, golf, bridge, poker, the theater, fancy waistcoats, wine, dinners, cigars, the company of women, lively dinner parties. Yet, for all his worldly tastes, Croly does not seem to have been at bottom a worldly man; indeed, Edmund Wilson called him "one of the most unworldly men I have ever known." He was excruciatingly shy, and at first meeting would often sit absolutely motionless, his eyes averted, his voice low, his expression remote or morose. "If the visitor himself were at all indifferent," Wilson recalled, "he would be likely to find the conversation subsiding into a discontinuous series of remarks more and more haltingly delivered by himself, to which Croly would mutter responses more and more fragmentary and more and more imperfectly audible." But, when contact was established, "he would lift his gaze and meet you directly: his eyes were clear, firm and green, and his gaze was one of the straightest I have ever known."

The Promise of American Life appeared after two decades of rising criticism and discontent within the national community. The quickening pace of economic and technological change in the years after the Civil War had brought about an immense and chaotic discharge of social energy; and the effect produced in reflective minds was

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MR. SCHLESINGER'S *essay (copyright 1965 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College) will appear in a somewhat different form as the introduction to the forthcoming Harvard University Press edition of* The Promise of American Life.

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that of a nation hurtling along uncharted paths to an unknown destination.

In 1901 the currents of anxiety began to acquire a focus in the new President of the United States. Theodore Roosevelt seemed at times to believe that he could contain the anarchic energies of his age by the main force of his own personal energy. But he relied on more than his own boundless confidence and vigor; he also had an idea which, for a season, appeared almost powerful enough to hold things together. The idea was the Nation, and the hope was that invocation of the national welfare and the national interest, sustained by the mass emotions of nationalism and underwritten by an enlargement of the national power, might finally frustrate the second law of thermodynamics, avert the law of civilization and decay, harness the Octopus, and bring the energies of the high-technology society under social control.

Early in the *Promise* Croly suggested that the only novelty his inquiry could claim was that "of applying ideas, long familiar to foreign political thinkers, to the subject-matter of American life." It is by no means clear what foreign political thinkers he had in mind. Comte, of course, was deeply implanted in his subconscious; Bismarck won his commendation for boldness, originality and comprehensiveness of policy and for having "planned most effectively and accomplished the greatest results" in creating the modern German nation; Wells and Emile Faguet were quoted in passing. Except for Wells, Croly ignored the Fabians; and he ignored the British Liberals altogether.

Nor are his American debts much easier to trace – save for Theodore Roosevelt, of course, whose influence is written large across the book. Not only does Roosevelt dominate Croly's discussion of contemporary politics, but Croly's broad argument is in essence a justification and generalization of Roosevelt's political position. Among Croly's Harvard masters, only Santayana is mentioned by name in the text. The *Promise* concludes with the quotation from his *Reason in Society* that in a noble and civilized democracy "the common citizen must be something of a saint and something of a hero"; and it elsewhere reflects Santayana's concern for men of virtue as national leaders. As for Royce, though he is not mentioned by name, his influence is pervasive – more so, perhaps, than Santayana's. Page after page of the *Promise* seems to register the impact of *The Philosophy of Loyalty*, which had been published the year before. Thus when Croly writes that progress in solving the social problem depends in part "upon an invincible loyalty to a constructive social ideal," or that education required everyone within the schoolhouse to "feel to one another an indestructible loyalty," the echo is unmistakable.

James is not mentioned in the *Promise*, nor apparently elsewhere in Croly's writings. Nonetheless, Croly insisted always on the importance of experiment as the test of meaning and truth; and he must, in a general sense, be classed as a pragmatist, despite his indifference to the technical issues. His passages about the relationship between democracy and experience often have, if not a Jamesian, at least a Deweyan flavor:

> "There can be nothing final about the creed unless there be something final about the action and purposes of which it is the expression. It must be constantly modified in order to define new experiences and renewed in order to meet unforeseen emergencies. But it should grow, just in so far as the enterprise itself makes new conquests and unfolds new aspects of truth. Democracy is an enterprise of this kind."

The fact that he also said that the principle of democracy was virtue does not of course make him a "moral absolutist," as some writers have curiously suggested; James himself could well have said the same thing.

What matters is, not who influenced Croly, but how Croly ordered and deepened insights shared by so many thoughtful men of his time. It would be useful to begin with a glance at his mode of presentation. Too many readers, put off by Croly's heavy, Latinate and repetitious style, have supposed that he could have paid no attention to the strategy of composition. But Croly was a professional critic of architecture as well as a devoted fan of the theater; and, if he had only an imperfect sense of language, he had a considerable sense of structure. The intellectual cogency of the *Promise* derives in great part from the architectonics of its argument, as its emotional impact derives from Croly's masterful conception of the American past as a drama of ideas embodied in personalities.

The stage is set at the opening by a series of propositions: that American life is committed to the fulfillment of a national promise; that the American assumption had been that the Promise would fulfill itself automatically; that new social and economic conditions meant that, if this was ever true, it was true no longer; and that to preserve the Promise it would be necessary "to abandon the traditional American patriotic fatalism" and transform the national Promise "into a closer equivalent of a national purpose, the fulfillment of which is a matter of conscious work."

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Croly first established the tension of ideas – the Promise as a consummation which would take care of itself in the spirit of Social Darwinism and Manchester *laissez-faire;* as against the Promise as "an incorrigible but patient attempt to realize its democratic ideal – an attempt which must mold history as well as hang upon its lessons." Then he resorted to history in the Comtist manner to dramatize his conflict. He returned to the first days of the republic and the familiar debate between Hamilton and Jefferson; but he gave this debate a fresh and compelling reading. He did not conceal the fact that, on the whole, he preferred Hamilton – "much the finer man and much the sounder thinker and statesman" – above all, because Hamilton incarnated the idea of "energetic and intelligent assertion of national power." At the same time, Croly recognized that Hamilton had limitations of analysis and sympathy, the effects of which were nearly as baneful as what he regarded as Jefferson's commitment to drift, superficiality and indiscriminate individualism. Hamilton, Croly wrote, "perverted the American national idea almost as much as Jefferson perverted the American democratic idea, and the proper relation of these two fundamental conceptions cannot be completely understood until this double perversion is corrected."

So the first act came to an end with a stark confrontation between nationalism and democracy. The second act opened to reveal the same confrontation repeated at a lower level in the clash between "an adequate conception of American democracy," represented by Andrew Jackson, and "a feeble conception of American nationality," represented by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. These historical sketches, here merely noted, have considerable subtlety and deserve examination on their own. But they also advanced Croly's dramatic purpose of interweaving the ideas of nationalism and democracy in the fabric of American history. Then, after the relative mediocrity of the fight between Jackson and the Whigs in the Middle Period, Croly's second act reached its climax with the tragedy of the Civil War, which showed the possibilities of failure in American society, and with the miracle of Lincoln, who showed the possibilities of salvation.

The third act of Croly's historical drama opened with the enormous changes in American life in the wake of the Civil War. American society, he argued, was now losing its homogeneity. In place of what had once been a "vast incoherent mass of the American people" there were emerging "definite social groups, which restrict and define the mental outlook and experience of their members." This transformation, as he saw it, was the direct result of Jeffersonian individualism. "In so far as equal rights are freely exercised," Croly wrote, "they are bound to result in inequalities; and these inequalities are bound to make for their own perpetuation, and so to provide further discrimination. Wherever the principle [of equal rights] has been allowed to mean what it seems to mean, it has determined and encouraged its own violation." Thus, as equal rights bred inequality, so *laissez-faire* bred monopoly, and individualism, carried to the extreme, was producing a society of specialists – the millionaire, the political boss, the labor leader, the lawyer – each organizing to advance his own interests, each seeking "special sources of power and profit at the expense of a wholesome national balance."

The new Nationalism meant, first of all, a repudiation of the "energetic and selfish individualism" and "the old fatal policy of drift" which seemed to Croly the essence of the rural and Jeffersonian past. As against such key Jeffersonian words as "equal rights" – a slogan which aroused him to unreasonable denunciation – Croly had his own set of key words, expressing a technocratic conception of the problems of the new society: "organization," "efficiency," "energy," "specialization," "expert," "consolidation," "experiment," "excellence," "responsibility." Such words conveyed in particular a sense that America had gone

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about as far as it could go on what Croly called the old Jeffersonian habits of "intellectual lethargy, superficiality, and insincerity," and a conviction that it was time for a professional approach to the problems of modern life.

Philosophy implied program, and Croly went on to provide a general statement of the nationalist agenda. On programmatic matters, Croly's touch was far from sure; and later in his book, when he made the mistake of getting into state and city issues, he displayed a weakness for gimmickry. But in discussing national issues he was refreshingly skeptical about the electoral devices cherished by the western progressives – the direct primary, initiative, referendum, recall, even the secret ballot – and he concentrated rather on the problem of taming the organizational drives of modern life without impairing the power of organizations for production and progress. His nationalism meant in particular the acceptance of the basic elements of the great society, especially the corporation and the trade union – an acceptance designed to preserve the efficiency of the large organizations and at the same time to make them socially responsible. And it meant a readiness to deal with technical problems in technical terms.

Looking at the great corporations, Croly had no doubt about the wisdom or necessity of the tendencies toward economic concentration – or about the dangers which uncontrolled concentration held for democracy. The states were plainly helpless in face of these interstate monsters, and a positive national policy seemed to him indispensable. The Sherman Act, in Croly's view, was the "fatal bar to the treatment of the problem of corporate aggrandizement from the standpoint of a genuinely national policy," and he urged its repeal. He had no faith in the notion of effective regulation by administrative commission and proposed instead a federal incorporation act to be accompanied by the taxation of excess income. He hoped thereby to preserve the efficiency of management and at the same time obtain a better distribution of the fruits of this efficiency. He attached undue importance to the idea of a federal inheritance tax and was surprisingly oblivious to the possibilities of the graduated income tax. As for trade unions, he said that they, "like the big corporations, need legal recognition; and this legal recognition means in their case, also, substantial discrimination by the state in their favor." Croly described the non-union laborer as "a species of industrial derelict," called for "the desertion by the state of the non-union laborer," and frankly favored a state-sanctioned closed shop.

His sophisticated discussion of corporate concentration, the freedom of the "free" market, administered prices, and the like, was perhaps influenced by Simon Patten; it still holds up in the age of Galbraith and Berle. And the resolution of such problems, he insisted, required an overriding sense of national interest and welfare. Croly's emphasis on the national point was unrelenting, and his rhetoric occasionally beguiled him into messianic extravagance. "The American idea," he could write, "like all sacred causes . . . must be propagated by the Word, and by that right arm of the Word, which is the Sword." He was prepared to regard war itself at certain times as "a useful and justifiable engine of national policy." He could even indulge in the complacent observation that "the ultimate object of a peaceable and stable European situation cannot in all probability be reached without many additional wars" – as if the fabric of Europe were not in 1909 already stretched to the breaking point. But he was really no jingo, only a realist without illusion about the role of force in life. "A national polity," he said, "always remains an organization based upon force," and he scorned those reformers who sought "to exorcise the power of physical force in human affairs by the use of pious incantations and heavenly words."

In foreign policy, he felt that, while the United States should continue to remain aloof from Europe, it must fearlessly assert its national interest and "assume a more definite and a more responsible place in the interna-

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tional system." Jefferson's error, he deeply (and incorrectly) believed had been to try and base foreign policy "not upon the firm grounds of national interest but upon the treacherous sands of international democratic propagandism." For Croly the assertion of the national interest against a foreign enemy, even to the point of war, had great value (here he cited the Spanish-American War) in provoking "a renewed vitality in relation to our domestic affairs." He had no worry about the consequences for western democracy of the European colonial empires or of American efforts to "introduce a little order" into Latin America. All this was only imperialist democracy – the projection into the outside world of the affirmative national will necessary to control the rush of discordant energies at home.

But it would be a mistake to construe Croly's program in terms only of public policy. As he insisted that the economic problem be seen in the political context, so he insisted that the political problem be seen in its larger social and moral context. Some of his most thoughtful and eloquent pages in the *Promise* came when he passed from public issues altogether and dealt with elusive questions of leadership, excellence and identity.

The great society, he felt, profoundly threatened individualism in the serious sense of the word. Different as American businessmen might be in temperament or circumstances, "they have a way of becoming fundamentally very much alike. Their individualities are forced into a common mold, because the ultimate measure of the value of their work is the same, and is nothing but its results in cash. . . . In so far as the economic motive prevails, individuality is not developed; it is stifled." The pressing need was to reconcile Jefferson and Hamilton, democracy and excellence. America "must cease to be a democracy of indiscriminate individualism, and become one of selected individuals who are obliged constantly to justify their selection." The way to do this, Croly said, lay in a reconstruction of the educational system and the absolute assurance of freedom of thought. Here he followed Dewey without inviting the excesses of Dewey's disciples and held out the

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hope that, as a result, the collective power of society would be put "at the service of its ablest members." Above all, he said, the individual could best serve the cause of American individuality by accomplishing his own individual emancipation – "that is, by doing his own special work with ability, energy, disinterestedness, and excellence."

As a summary of progressive thought, *The Promise of American Life* was incomplete. It expressed the sentiments of Eastern, urban, industrial progressivism; and, as Charles Forcey has pointed out, it neglected not only Western progressives like La Follette but Western issues like conservation and agriculture (as well as important Eastern issues like the tariff and the monetary system). In particular, Croly's wholehearted acceptance of economic concentration divided him not only from La Follette but from Eastern Jeffersonians like Woodrow Wilson and Louis D. Brandeis.

What Croly did was to give the views of Theodore Roosevelt an extended historical and sociological setting. His actual influence on Roosevelt has been considerably exaggerated; it was certainly less than Roosevelt's influence on him. Even Croly's economic program was in many respects an imitation and dilution of Roosevelt's valedictory message to Congress of January 31, 1908. Still, Roosevelt – who was promptly given copies of the book by such disparate friends as Henry Cabot Lodge and Learned Hand – was delighted by what he read. In *The Outlook* in January 1911, he called *The Promise of American Life* "the most powerful and illuminating study of our national conditions which has appeared for many years." Two years later in his *Autobiography*, he praised Croly's critique of "our individualistic democracy," saluting the *Promise* for its affirmation of the need for collective responsibility and collective action.

Above all, Roosevelt seized on the expression "the New Nationalism" and made it the slogan of his return to politics. Too much should not be made of this; such phrases, like the New Deal and Fair Deal of later times, are familiar enough locutions until someone transforms them into headlines. Richard T. Ely had used the "new nationalism" in 1889 to refer to "the American type of socialism," and Edward Bellamy had organized his Nationalist Club in the nineties to propagate the gospel of *Looking Backward*. For all this, Roosevelt unquestionably was gratified by Croly's full-length explanation of what he was up to; and between 1911 and 1914 the two men were in close and friendly contact.

When he wrote the *Promise*, Croly had been convinced that human brotherhood was no substitute for efficient organization. By 1919 he was no longer so sure. The two political heroes of his time – TR and Wilson – had successively let him down, and the structure of society never seemed more resistant to reform. Perhaps the inner path was after all the best. "Cultivate all the religious emotions," his father had written thirty years before. Soon after armistice, Croly tried to remind the Allied statesmen that their work "begins in contrition, renunciation and prayer" and besought them to call in "the spirit of Christ to cast out the hoary devils with which their own souls are still haunted." On the brink of Versailles he wrote that "the richest source of the needed ideology is the gospel of Jesus Christ" and demanded "active faith in the inexhaustible possibility of human deliverance and regeneration." His decision in 1920 to support Parley P. Christensen for President on the Farmer-Labor ticket was, as he acknowledged, "pale with [political] unreality" if a necessary act of spiritual affirmation.

More and more, he looked to salvation through "the ability of individuals and groups to bring about an improved quality of human relations by other than political means." The old progressive analysis in terms of interest groups and classes no longer impressed him. He wrote perceptive essays on Hoover and Smith in 1928. But his locus of interest had shifted from political action to psychological and religious reeducation.

In 1928 Croly had the first of a series of strokes. He died in Santa Barbara, California, on May 17, 1930. Three years later, in another America, another Roosevelt began to use Hamiltonian means to achieve Jeffersonian ends in still another attempt to fulfill the promise of American life.

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Hooray for the Red, White and Blue

by Andrew Kopkind

"California is a great place to live," Fred Allen once said, "if you're an orange." Ronald Reagan is an orange. Transplanted, to be sure, from a small town in Illinois: but California is really Illinois with orange trees. Golden, sun-kissed, and thick-skinned, California oranges take nourishment from the vast irrigated deserts; they are tended and picked by Midwesterners who have fled the dreary heartland, but still love the simple virtues. So with Mr. Reagan. Like the hardiest citrus fruit, he has flourished in Hyper-America. The most recent California Poll shows him the most popular candidate for the 1966 Republican gubernatorial nomination. He has more than twice the rank-and-file support of his closest competitor, Senator Thomas H. Kuchel. He soon may be governor of the most populous state in the Union, and that is a long way to come from Tampico, Ill.

Where's the Rest of Me?
The Ronald Reagan Story
by Ronald Reagan
with Richard G. Hubler
(Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $5.95)

For those who have been storming the bookstores in search of Ronald Reagan's authorized autobiography, at last it is here. It was written by Richard G. Hubler, the assistant to the president of San Fernando Valley State College. Mr. Hubler has given the story all the power and dramatic intensity which sets Ronald Reagan apart from other men.

"The story begins with the closeup of a bottom," the authors say by way of introduction. Any doubts about the book are immediately dispelled: it is the best opening line in American literature since Beverly Aadland's mother wrote in *The Big Love*, "There's one thing I want to make clear right off – my baby was a virgin the day she met Errol Flynn." Hubler/Reagan continue: "My face was blue . . . my bottom was red . . . and my father claimed afterward that he was white. . . . Ever since . . . I have been particularly fond of the colors that were exhibited – red, white, and blue."

But it was many years before the Grand Old Flag reappeared in Ronald Reagan's life. He grew up in small-town Illinois, played high school football, and was introduced to dramatics by the Dixon High School English teacher, B. J. Fraser. "From him I learned almost all of what I know about acting today," Reagan admits modestly. Thespis soon paid another visit, at Eureka College, in Eureka, Ill. ("the oldest coeducational institution west of the Alleghenies"). There, a Miss Johnson was "a sister-under-the-skin" to the legendary B. J. Fraser, and she awarded Reagan the coveted role of a Greek shepherd boy in *Aria da Capo*. The performance won him an "Oscar" (alas, his only one) in a Northwestern University School of Speech one-act play contest. From there, there was no place to go but show business, and he got his first job as a football announcer on old station WOC (World of Chiropractic) in Davenport, Iowa. Soon he was in the big time, announcing major league baseball games from telegraph tapes at WHO in Des Moines. Hollywood beckoned; in 1937 Reagan starred in his first movie, *Love Is on the Air*, in which he played a radio announcer.

Success followed upon success: *Submarine D-1* (unfortunately, Reagan's cameo part ended up on the cutting-room floor), *Hollywood Hotel* (he was cast again as a radio announcer), and *Cowboy from Brooklyn* (he was unnerved by Pat O'Brien). In Reagan's view, his greatest pictures were *King's Row*, in which he played a double-amputee, and *Knute Rockne*, where he

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. *received the Pulitzer prize for his book* The Age of Jackson. Honor Tracy *is an Anglo-Irish writer best known for her satirical novel* The Straight and Narrow Path. *Her newest work, a travel book, is* Spanish Leaves.

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By HERBERT ROSINSKI

Foreword by August Heckscher
Edited by Richard P. Stebbins

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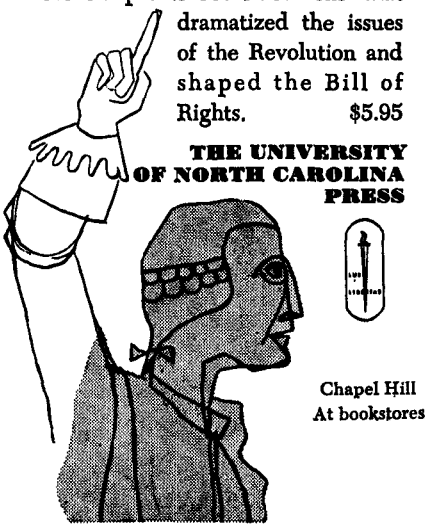

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was the football player George Gipp, who dies in the first reel. The war intervened, however, and Cavalry Reserve Officer Reagan was assigned to the Air Corps film department in Los Angeles, because of poor eyesight.

Politics had always loomed small in Reagan's life. He had been a Democrat, but "in the last year and a half of my military career . . . I think the first crack in my staunch liberalism appeared." Apparently, the crack was not very wide, because after the war he grew increasingly involved in left-wing Hollywood labor matters. But the way Reagan tells it, it was not long before he discovered that "the Communist plan for Hollywood was remarkably simple. It was merely to take over the motion picture business. Not only for its profit, as the hoodlums had tried – but also for a grand world-wide propaganda base." Actually, Reagan compresses his chronology, and suppresses a few facts; he was a Hollywood liberal longer than he cares to remember. He chooses not to recall that he campaigned for Helen Gahagan Douglas in her 1950 senatorial contest with – of all people – Representative Richard M. Nixon. To this day, former Republican Gov. Goodwin Knight, who compiled an enviable liberal record during his tenure, calls Reagan a "dupe" of the Communists.

Well, bygones are bygones in this autobiography; Reagan atoned by telling all to the House Un-American Activities Committee, which, like the "Tenney Committee" of the California State Senate, he defends and quotes extensively; and to three unnamed men "from a well-known government agency" who came one day to call. After the labor wars, Reagan returned to his career, which was running in high gear in those days with *That Hagan Girl*, *The Hasty Heart*, and *The Voice of the Turtle*. He divorced his first wife, Jane Wyman (whom he dismisses in about a dozen words), spent $750 a month on night clubs, paid (not very graciously, in retrospect) 91 percent of his income in taxes, and finally found another wife, Nancy Dixon, a starlet "who was more than disinterested in Leftist causes: she was violently opposed to such shenanigans." After a while, Reagan tired of such films as *Tropic Zone* ("I knew the script was hopeless"), and settled down to a life as master-of-ceremonies for television's "GE Theater" and traveling PR man for the General Electric Corporation. Here Reagan's commitment to conservative politics was born. Accompanied by an ex-FBI agent as advance man, Reagan toured the country representing GE at business and civic meetings. His talk was usually on "Encroaching Government Controls." During the fifties, it seemed to go down well (except for his attack on the TVA, which he says caused the Government to threaten GE with the loss of $50 million in contracts), but "the same speech delivered *after* [the authors' italics] January 20, 1961, brought down thunders of wrath on my head."

Those were indeed dangerous days for one who had been to the edge of the liberal abyss and was now telling the tale. Reagan joined the Goldwater campaign, and in a remarkable election eve network TV speech, formally launched his new career as the Late Show candidate. He was just one jump behind the dancer who is now Senator George Murphy (whom he used to denounce as an "arch-reactionary" back in the Guild days).

In an appendix to this chronicle, Reagan presents his opinions on various topics of current interest: urban renewal (no good), TVA (still no good), public welfare (ditto), anti-trust laws (ditto), government health care (ditto), foreign aid (ditto), and Karl Marx (unclear, but probably immoral). In sum, things are bad in the orange grove, and it will take men like Reagan to set them right again. Next year, California voters may have the chance to find the rest of Ronald Reagan. They might remember *Submarine D-1* and look first on the cutting-room floor.

COMING

A New Look at Thomas Hardy

by Irving Howe

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A Bouquet from Nadine Gordimer

by Honor Tracy

There is no living writer of short stories more interesting, varied and fertile than Miss Gordimer at her best. In this new collection, however, she does not always come up to her standard. The lyrical freshness is dulled, as so often in the works of maturity: now and again, humanity degenerates into motherliness; and several pieces are too long for their weight. This may be due to their being written in the first place for American magazines, for American editors love stories to be "extended," either from a simple respect for quantity as such or from the need to lure their readers through the jungle of advertisement. But whatever the reason for it, some of the work included here would have a finer shape and a keener bite with the help of pruning.

Not for Publication
and Other Stories
by Nadine Gordimer
(Viking; $4.95)

The opening story, "Not for Publication," is not merely too long but reads as if the writer were tired. There are too frequent lapses into what is death to any story, a bold, lazy summarizing where all should be illumined and made manifest. Much is admirable in this tale of a brilliant African beggar boy, discovered by a benevolent Englishwoman, educated by an Anglican priest, destined for great things by both, who then slips quietly back to his former life on the eve of a vital exam. Miss Gordimer understands the muddled emotions of the philanthropist, "the will to love pacing behind the bars of her glance," adopting her African tribe as another lonely woman might an orphan or a stray dog. She sees the egotism of the missionary spirit, even at its most apparently selfless, and she is alive to the hysteria of the African mind. But instead of weaving these strands artfully together, she raps out a series of brisk little messages, makes a number of informative little points. Her people are cases concerning whom she feels bound to instruct us.

With "The African Magician," she is back to her own superb form. The story tells of a boatload of Belgian colonialists travelling up the Congo river a couple of months before the country's independence. They are a bunch of typical mediocrities, from the ship's Bore with his confidential growl and pally wink to the bright policeman's wife with her "They are just like monkeys, you know. We've taught them a few tricks." On each side is the vast mysterious African bush: natives flock to the landing-stages to sell ivory trinkets and bawl slogans. A shipboard entertainment is announced, with absurdly high rates of admission, and turns out to be a mere half-hour of stale, tedious conjuring-tricks. The next day – a beautifully true and engaging touch – there is a repeat performance: the travellers are to see the weary old turns all over again at the same ridiculous fee. But the canny Belgians protest, they want their money's worth, there has to be more. Two of the African crew argue with the conjuror, urge something on him, while the uncomprehending audience stares: he argues back, refuses, is adamant, then suddenly shrugs and proceeds to give a dazzling, terrifying display of African magic, mesmerizing and utterly dominating first a Congolese youth and then a Belgian girl.

Afterwards the narrator sees the wizard go ashore, looking like any young black clerk with his quiet clothes and attaché case, and brings her story to a perfect ending: "All Africa carries an attaché case now; and what I knew was in that one might not be more extraordinary than what might be in some of the others."

The story is memorable for the unity of feeling, the brilliant use of background in the heightening of mood and the honesty. The Belgians are dull and dreadful but they can and do run the Congo. The woman is mean to compare Africans to monkeys, but she is also right: the little conjuror trotting out his white man's tricks, bewildered and hurt by the white man's reaction, is the chimpanzee on the motor-bicycle. But then, dramatically, Miss Gordimer shows us that this is not all, that the African is monkeyish only when he apes the white man whom he cannot understand, and that he possesses a rich resource of his own, equally beyond the white man's power of comprehension; and in so doing demonstrates that artistic integrity packs a better punch than all the facile liberal clichés put together.

She succeeds again, beautifully, with "A Company of Laughing Faces," where a young girl is taken by her jolly commonplace mother to a seaside resort full of similar people. "A wonderful place for youngsters . . . the kids really enjoy themselves there. . . ." For Kathy, being young is to be vulnerable, isolated, lost, often desperate, but she

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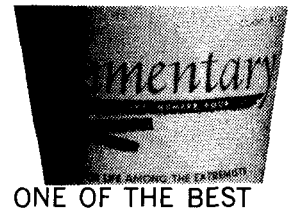

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struggles to enjoy herself as her mother would wish. Mrs. Hack has not the least idea of what her daughter is like: a permanent gulf yawns between them. Kathy sees a little boy she has talked to on the beach lying drowned on the seabed, and begs to be taken home. Mrs. Hack is loath to cut the holiday short but sees in this sensitivity something socially superior that they ought not to forego. In fact – and once again the ending is perfect – "the sight, there, was the one real happening of the holiday, the one truth and the one beauty," and the author's triumph is to make us realize that this was so.

I should mention "Message In a Bottle," a tour de force concerned with the haphazard cruelty of life, told with apparent inconsequence and deeply moving; and "Tenants of the Last Tree-House," dealing once more with the world of adolescence and the failure of communication between children and parents. "There was a math test on Thursday and I got 61 percent. . . ." In this vein Cavada writes her weekly letter home: but in a nursery cupboard among the outgrown clothes her mother finds a diary with an entry: "I love Peter – and adore him – and need him – for ever and ever," stands a little while thinking, then carefully hides the book away again. It is often in her simplest moments that Miss Gordimer is most poignant.

ART

The Met Moves In

Incredibly, it is only 16 years since the Metropolitan Museum of New York first established a Department of American Art. This explains a lot about the 20th Century section of the museum's vast, current exhibition, "300 Years of American Painting" and about the Met's general style in contemporary American art during the fifties and today. The style is that of the reformed drunk who becomes a leading prohibitionist, only in reverse. The Met, particularly in the interesting activities of its associate American curator. Henry Geldzahler, behaves in this field like a reformed prohibitionist who has finally found booze and has not only become a lush but takes an evangelical pleasure in getting the world to join him on the barroom floor.

It is just about a generation ago that Juliana Force showed up at the Met with the gift of the Whitney Collection in her pocketbook and was asked to leave quietly. She did and the Whitney Museum is the result, including its building in progress around the corner from the Met. It will be good to have the Whitney up there, because the visitor to the Metropolitan will thus be able to get a more rounded view of the American 20th Century than is easily available at old Alcoholics Autonymous on Fifth Avenue. Such a view is available at the Met, but you have to fight for it and especially you have to fight Mr. Geldzahler's catalogue, something of a museum piece itself, in its Eisenhower-period insistence that American art has finally come of age. It didn't come of age in the fifties; it had been there all the time. What came of age was the Metropolitan, finally willing to look at its own country. The visitor is inescapably and rather poignantly reminded of Thomas Hart Benton's campaign for the admission of American art to American institutions and his ill-tempered assertions that it was "limp-wristed curators" who were keeping it out. Someone apparently held Mr. Geldzahler back from arranging the 20th Century section as a formal Apopeosis; he can only point forward in the text; on the walls he has to end with Rauschenberg and Johns, the Katzenjammer Kids, in a pair of borrowed works – two of only about 30 in the show of almost 500. The evangelical inebriation of the institution is perhaps best seen in Mr. Geldzahler's comment – coming after Levine, Shahn, Evergood, Wyeth, O'Keeffe, Kuniyoshi, Hopper, Wyeth, Hartley, you name it – that Rauschenberg and Johns "have demonstrated that the recognizable can

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be a central and fecund power in advanced art." One would have thought the proposition had been well enough demonstrated by Picasso and Matisse, by Monet and Seurat, by David and Delacroix, and for that matter by Michelangelo and Leonardo. Again the sentence, to be understood properly, has to be read with a silent modifier, "since the Met found out about advanced art and American art, thus and so is the case."

Both catalogue and exhibition are arranged to show the 20th Century in America as full of precursors and other time-wasters until the magic moment when the Met got into the game, 1949, at which point the subject, modern American painting, burst into full flower with breakthroughs, epiphanies, innovations and "greatest works" by all hands. The catalogue, although written by a man who probably wasn't old enough to vote in the first Eisenhower breakthrough, vibrates with the old-time religion, and even gets into the critic-consultant wars of the period by tromping on the critic Harold Rosenberg and giving Clement Greenberg the accolade. It all seems so long ago.

In the exhibition itself, despite the Geldzahlerish arrangements, the truth does out. The enormous Jackson Pollock drip work, "Autumn Rhythm," painted in 1950 as a precursor of Eisenhower and bought by the Met in 1957 at the very height of Ike-art, is noted by the curator as having changed "from seeming to be an arbitrary diatribe against art to an elegant statement." That's the change, all right, and there's more to it yet. It's also changed to a dull, pretentious, bombastic spectacular, vast in size, half-vast in content. The same general description fits the Franz Kline – "an heroic figure" – the Sam Francis, the Robert Motherwell, the Mark Rothko and the Adolph Gottlieb. There isn't any angry diatribe against anything; there is an effort at elegance and what survives is a certain residual decorative value. Someone, probably Rosenberg, once called the whole movement "apocalyptic wallpaper." The apocalypse is over; the wallpaper remains.

Other things remain as well. Bradley Walker Tomlin, William Baziotes, Theodoros Stamos, Arshile Gorky and Willem de Kooning, all associated with the Ike-onography group, nevertheless reveal more substantial values. The De Kooning "Easter Monday" ties up with the whole, long tradition of the loving and enthusiastic manipulation of oil paint. Tomlin's "Burial" is a kind of Americanization of Juan Gris, as Gorky's "Water of the Flowery Mill" is an Americanization of parts of Miro.

Whatever the apocalyptic beginnings of Ike-art may have been, it was speedily transformed into pure fashion, in part by the sudden patronage of the Met, in which it has been succeeded by Pop and Op, the chief characteristic of any fashion being that it has to keep changing to keep alive. Meanwhile, before, during and since the Met and other fashion-commentators got with it, American art of the 20th Century produced and continues to produce a strong and steady and greatly varied body of painting.

The conclusion is that our century continues the American honest realism and self-invented art begun with those colonial limners and early 19th Century landscape men. Sheeler and O'Keeffe are confronting entirely different reality from that looked at by their European cubist relatives and the difference shapes the paintings. There is no southwest desert in Europe, in its spaces, its lights, its simplicity; those qualities shine in the great skull painting of O'Keeffe. The Demuth "Figure Five" is about American urban speed and the vision of William Carlos Williams. Sheeler's Gate" may look cubist but the whole feeling is different; for all its elegance, it deals with a harsh, raw, piece of reality, as does Niles Spencer's "Underpass." The Stuart Davis "Percolator" from 1927 may seem to be a classical kind of cubist exercise in volume analysis, but it's more than that; a percolator analyzed is essentially different from a guitar given the same treatment. In the magnificent Davis "Semé" of 1953, there is pure celebration of the American big city and American big band jazz; cubism, if it can be said to remain functioning in Davis at all by that time, has been mashed up and remade into an American technique and even an American image.

From Sloan and Glackens to Sheeler and Davis, or Hopper and Levine, may seem a long leap, but the subject ties it

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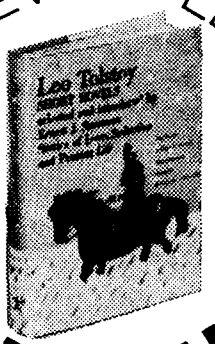
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all together. It is the American city in one aspect or another.

In Europe, the Impressionists, for all their fresh country air, spent a lot of time in the city. With cubism, European art moved into the studio, with surrealism onto the Freudian couch, but American painting at its best has mostly been out on the streets in this century. And so it is at the Met.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

Hot Time in the Middle East

Sirs:

Your issue of March 20, 1965, has just reached me. I have found a number of very curious things in the article "The Middle East: Temperature Rising" by Robert Debs Heinl, Jr.

What, for instance, was the logical purpose of Heinl's mentioning that according to the government of Israel more than 1,250 of its citizens were killed by Arab infiltrators between 1949-1959? Are we to assume that by his omitting to mention Arab deaths at the hands of Israeli military units crossing the demarcation lines he means to tell us that only Israeli deaths are significant? The number of Arabs killed, a majority of them civilians, by the Israel Defense Army during the same period is probably somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000, perhaps more. During a 20-month period in 1955-1956, Lieutenant-General E. L. M. Burns, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Commission then, tells us that 121 Israelis were killed and 496 Arabs (*Between Arab and Israeli*, p. 174). Statistics from other periods run at about the same ratio.

Is it not rather strange for a liberal magazine like *The New Republic* to publish an article containing the conclusion that because in one respect the goals of Arab nationalism and of Russia are the same that "it is idle to characterize" the Arab states as being neutral or uncommitted? . . .

How does Mr. Heinl reckon that the water pumped from the Sea of Galilee is "Jordan-Yarmuk" water. The Yarmuk river enters the Jordan below the Sea of Galilee, and as even below sea level water does not flow uphill, it must be assumed that the Sea of Galilee does not contain any Yarmuk water.

Mr. Heinl goes beyond blaming the burning of the USIA library in Cairo on the Egyptian government and has "libraries" being burned in Egypt, with the implication that the Egyptian government did it all.

The idea of fragmenting the Pan-Arab front has been worked on by Washington for over a decade. It has been a great help to Arab nationalists. The suggestion was worn out a long time ago. American recognition of the Yemen Republic in Yemen almost destroyed the Egyptian position there, but Britain's hostility rescued it for the militant nationalists. It seems that sooner or later people in the West would catch on to how things work in the middle of the 20th Century.

The "Rapprochement between Israel and Jordan" suggested is astonishing. The government of Jordan has great difficulty even in preventing civilian crossings of the demarcation lines without provoking open rebellion, and now an expert comes along and wants the government of Jordan to think about modest agreements – which would only have the instantaneous result of violent demonstrations among the majority of the population!

The closing sentence of the article is extremely naïve. Israel has many avenues of retreat which would at the same time be avenues to peace. The idea dominating life in Israel that it is the homeland of nationals of other countries and that space must be reserved for them when they want to come is one position from which Israel could retreat. The colonial distrust of the "natives," the Palestinians, is another position which could profitably be abandoned. . . .

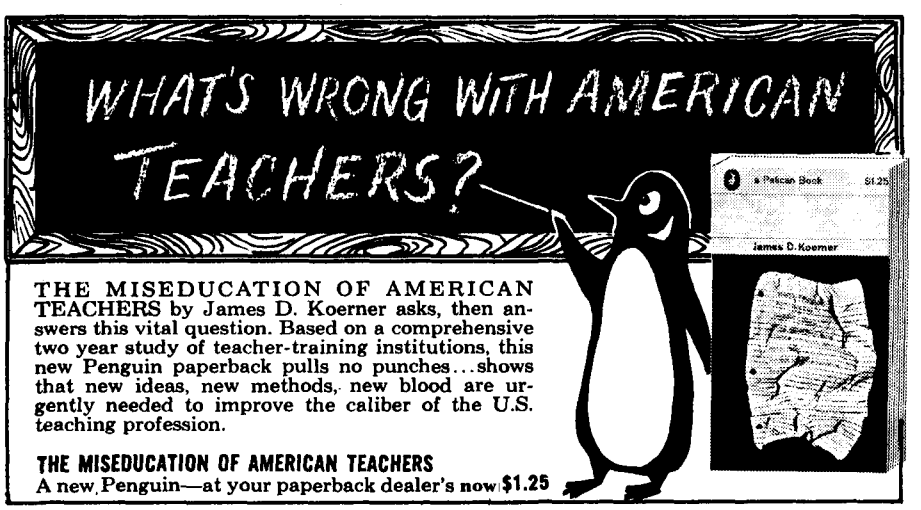
In short, Mr. – excuse me, Colonel – Heinl's article proves very well what the editors of *The New Republic* have always said: soldiers can never understand politics.

Ray L. Cleveland
Suweilih, Jordan

Poll Tax

Sirs:

To Alexander M. Bickel (April 24) "the poll tax is more a nuisance than anything else." To the Negroes of Alabama and Mississippi, two of the four states that still have the tax, it is a symbol of inferiority and oppression, an integral part of the strategy that has successfully disfranchised them for nearly a century. . . . He expresses doubt that it can "be shown to have been systematically used to discriminate against Negroes." But it has always been the intent and purpose of the tax to discriminate against Negroes, as any examination of its history plainly shows. The proceedings of the state constitutional conventions at the turn of the century which imposed the poll taxes, are full of statements to this effect. Typical were the speeches of the late Carter Glass to the Virginia convention in which he said the chief purpose of the meeting was to discriminate and to protect the state from "146,000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ignorant Negro voters." The president of the Alabama convention declared its purpose to be the establishment of white supremacy. The Mississippi Supreme Court in 1896 found that the tax was primarily intended by the framers of the state constitution "as a clog upon the franchise, and secondarily and incidentally only as a means of revenue." The Senate Judiciary Committee in reports it issued in 1942 and 1943 concluded that the South's poll tax laws "were motivated entirely and exclusively by a desire to exclude the Negro from voting." The US Civil Rights Commission made a similar finding in its 1959 report.

Mr. Bickel's dismissal of the poll tax "as an anti-Populist measure" is hardly better history than his law. Through the years Negro poverty, the concomitant of Negro subjugation, has made the poll tax an effective means of disfranchisement. For Negroes in rural Mississippi the $2 or $3 they must pay for their right to vote is often as strong a bar to voting as rigged literacy tests and red-neck intimidation. It may be only "a dollar or two" to Mr. Bickel, but it is an insurmountable obstacle to Negroes because they buy on credit and pay in crops and labor and never see cash.

Mr. Bickel questions whether Congress has the power to eliminate the poll tax by law and points out that Congress chose a constitutional amendment as the way to eliminate the poll tax in federal elections. The lawyers for the 90 religious, civil rights, labor and other organizations which participate in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights believe that Congress, acting under the express "power to enforce" of the 14th and 15th amendments, has full authority to outlaw the poll tax as yet another discriminatory restriction on voting. Majorities of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Judiciary Subcommittee concur in this view by their amendment of the voting rights act.

On the matter of congressional authority to abolish the poll tax by statute, Senator Edward Kennedy, in a speech on April 13, declared:

> "Congress did have the power to abolish the poll tax in Federal elections by statute. Indeed, the House of Representatives has passed five anti-poll tax bills since 1939; but each time the bill died under Senate filibuster or threat of filibuster. The action of Congress in abolishing the poll tax by the 24th amendment was a compromise to avoid a Senate filibuster. In no sense was it a decision by Congress that it did not have authority to act by statute to abolish the poll tax in federal or state elections."

Finally, Mr. Bickel expresses the fear that the Supreme Court will find congressional action against the poll tax to be unconstitutional. But the Court, except where individual rights were under attack, has not invalidated any act of Congress since the thirties. It is unthinkable that a court this sensitive to the rights of individuals will now invalidate congressional action to buttress the most precious individual right of all.

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
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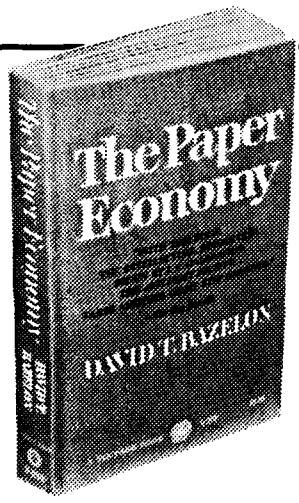

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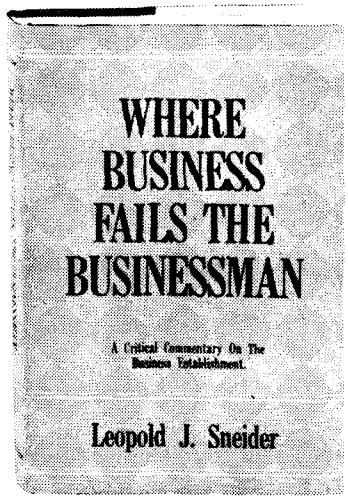

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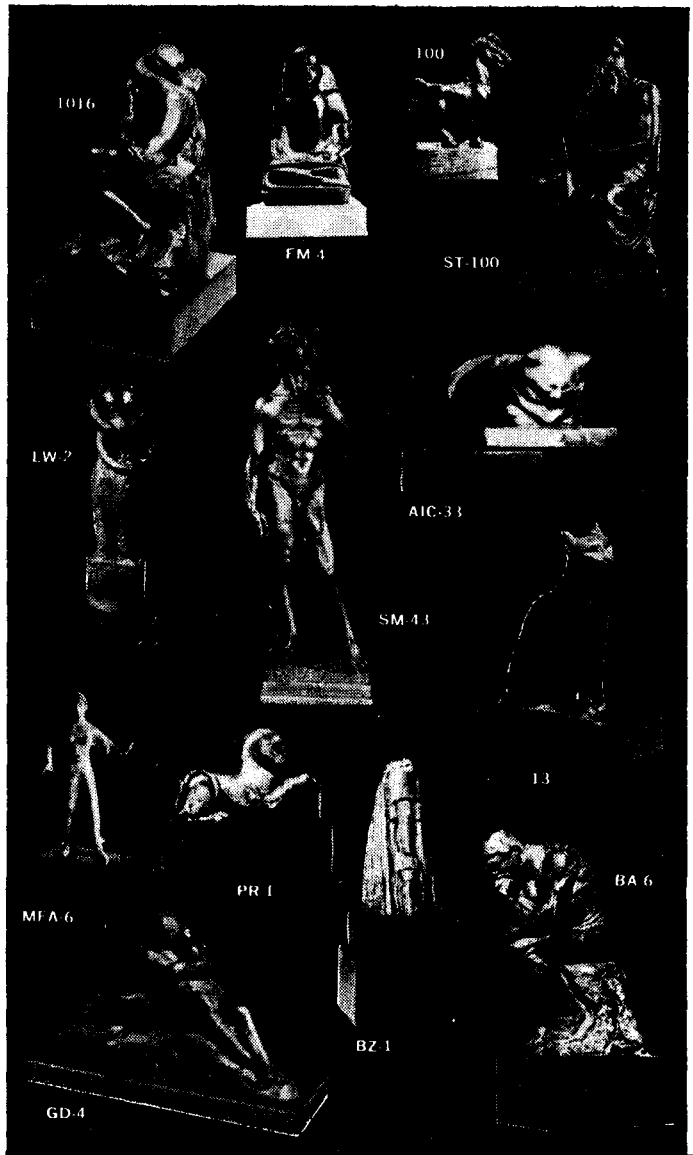

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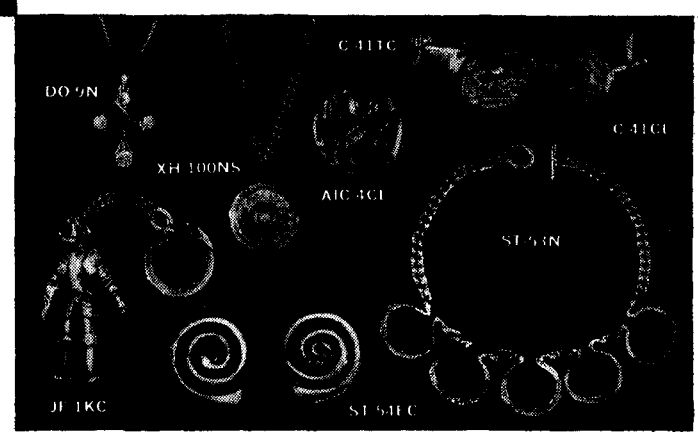

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